

Resources

Michael Stephens, a long time activist-prisoner is now out and pleased that he can get back to publishing the *Jericho Newsletter*, which he had produced inside until he was transferred to a disciplinary unit in 1991. He and his wife, Heidi Tebbs-Stephens, have plans to do a "book bank", and write a book on prison litigation. They offer the services of Ste Catherine's Universal Life Church but see their main purpose as to enlighten through the newsletter. A pen pal service is offered in the paper. Subs are \$10.00 for 12 issues. Write to:

Jericho Newsletter
Box 1983
Cincinnati, OH 45201-1983

Request for Prison Slang: I am collecting prison slang that is in use in prisons today. Write down the slang with their meanings and forward them to me. For example, in Texas "aggie" is slang for hoe, "my boy" is slang for my punk, "shank" is slang for knife, etc. Send examples of the slang to:

Edward D. Hodges III #313950
A Hughes Unit
Rt 2 Box 4400
Gatesville TX 76528

Loved One in Prison? Help others by sharing how you handle it. Writer/prisoner spouse preparing book of *Coping Skills*. Your experiences needed. Call or write to request anonymous questionnaire. Write:

Coping
Box 3125 - 268 Bush St
San Francisco CA 94104
call (415) 292-4993

The *Art/Rage Project* is a collective of art workers and activists which has organized various exhibitions and installations about social and political issues. Currently we are beginning to work on a *Project About Incarceration*. It will include a collaborative installation as well as a group exhibition by artists working both in and outside of prison. The goals of the project are to heighten public awareness of the criminal injustices of the U.S. legal system, and to further the communication between political activists inside and outside of prison. The exhibition will be held in late 1995 or early 1996. We would like to hear from anyone who has suggestions for the

exhibition (especially a title for the show) and who would like to exhibit their work. Please write to Haideen and Rejin at:

ArtRage
c/o Rejin Leyis
Box 310961
Jamaica, NY 11431

ACT UP/Chicago's Prison Issues Committee is working to put pressure on the state of Illinois to improve its AIDS services in state prisons. Part of the campaign is getting input and information from prisoners. Any information you have about AIDS in your prison will be useful, particularly about education programs, support groups, prisoner-led programs, drug treatment programs, medical care, pre-release programs, etc. They are interested in the availability of medical treatment and in how prisoners with HIV/AIDS are treated by other prisoners and by staff. What are the biggest needs for prisoners with HIV/AIDS? They can also provide prisoners with information on safer sex and medical treatment issues. Confidentiality in all areas will be respected. Please write:

Jeannie Pejko
4624 N. Hamlin
Chicago, IL 60625

The Prison Activist Resource Center announces the publication of *With the Power of Justice in Our Eyes: A Handbook for Educators and Activists on the Crisis in Prisons*. The readings give a broad overview of the economic and political forces which make the system of imprisonment the cruel joke that it is. They lay bare, with statistics and critical analyses, the true nature of U.S. prisons, and the mythology that the crisis is manageable. They show how racism and the criminalization of poverty are central to the maintenance of prisons as a system of social control. The book costs \$10.00 to print. Any donations above printing cost will go to make copies available free to prisoners. First class mail: add \$4.65, Book Rate: add \$2.00 Check or money order made out to "Prison Activist Resource Center". Write:

PARC - Handbook
P.O. Box 3201
Berkeley CA 94703

Totalitarian Times is now based in Toronto. For those not familiar with it, TT is an autonomist publication dedicated to covering prison struggles, anti-imperialism, and struggles for land and freedom. The fall 1994 issue will be out shortly. Free

to prisoners. Other people should send a dollar or so. The new address is:

Totalitarian Times
Box 67531 - 576 Dundas St W.
Toronto, Ont M5T 3B8

Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, author of *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*, is available for speaking in cities in the U.S. and Canada, sponsored by a newly-formed speaker's bureau: *The Rest of the News*. Bulldozer highly recommends Kom'boa as a speaker. If you arrange for him to speak, you'll be in for a very inspiring and informative evening. Write:

Lorenzo Kom'boa Speaking Tour
c/o *The Rest of the News*
145 Park Dr.
Decatur, GA 30030
(404) 717-4074

Crossroad has long been one of the main newspapers for news of, and analysis from, New Afrikan POWs and political prisoners. \$6./8 issues (domestic), \$9./8 issues (institutions) and \$15./8 issues (international). Write to:

Spear and Shield Publications
1340 W. Irving Pk. Rd., Suite 108
Chicago, IL 60613

Raze The Walls is a useful resource guide for prisoners. Future issues will feature a pen pal service. They ask that prisoners send their name, number and address along with any mail restrictions that they have at their prisons. Include a 25-35 word spiel on who you are and who you would like to write to. It is free to prisoners, free world people, please send \$1. Write to:

Raze The Walls
c/o *Incendiary Devices*
Box 22774
Seattle, WA 98122-0774

Red Sticks Press is a project of the First Nations Resource Network. The paper is dedicated to reporting on the issues and concerns of all indigenous people in this hemisphere. They would like to do an article on Native women in prison. If you're a Native woman in prison, or work with them, please contact the editor Lois Tomez. Bulldozer is interested in working with Red Sticks in helping to give Native women prisoners more of a voice. Subs are \$15./yr. Write to:

Red Sticks Press
Box 59
St Petersburg, FL 33731-0059

PRISON NEWS SERVICE

SEPT/OCT 1994
NUMBER 47 *a bulldozer publication*



Tom Silverstein

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Iron House Drum
-----centre

Little Rock arrested, Perotti set-up

Little Rock Reed and John Perotti have come under attack in an attempt by Ohio correctional officials to keep these two men from exposing how former Lucasville warden Arthur Tate and other prison officials intensified tensions within the prisons to such an extent that it eventually blew up into a prisoner-takeover at Easter time, 1993.

Little Rock was arrested on September 23rd in New Mexico under a federal warrant for allegedly fleeing two arrest warrants. John Perotti, who had only recently been put into general population at Lucasville after a hungerstrike, was beaten and charged with trying to smuggle drugs out of Lucasville. Perotti and Little Rock had been working together to distribute an article in which Little Rock documents how forced integration of double-bunked cells was used to increase racial tensions within Lucasville. (See page 3). Perotti was charged after Lt. Schramm of the mail room at Lucasville illegally opened one of his letters containing the article and a memo from Tate, dated less than a month before the uprising, in which he described a proposal to open a high security (read Control Unit) unit within Lucasville. (Also on page 3.) A number of prisoners were witnesses to Schramm telling Perotti that he had gotten him (Perotti) good with the "Talwyn" (synthetic morphine) charge. Perotti has gone on a hungerstrike to protest this abuse. A letter campaign has been initiated to support Perotti on the hungerstrike — he wants the charges withdrawn and to be released back into general population. Even if Perotti's hungerstrike is over by the time this is read, send a letter to the Lucasville warden to let him know that Perotti does have supporters on the outside and demand that any charges arising out of the alleged drug incident be dropped. (See addresses on page 3.)

Little Rock Reed is free on \$50,000 bond while the governor of New Mexico decides whether he will be sent back to Ohio. A massive letter-writing and fax campaign has been launched to support him. There were several irregularities in Little Rock's arrest. He was picked up on an FBI warrant for "interstate flight" that was sworn before a local judge but neither of the warrants used to justify the FBI warrant — one from Ohio, the other from Kentucky — exist. The FBI agents who took him to the

local jail admitted that the FBI warrant was only a pretext to arrest him, that he would be held on a warrant for parole violation once he was in custody. The warrant for parole violation was not even signed by a judge, but by Terry Lyons, head of the Ohio Adult Parole Authority (APA) and did not provide the legal justification for New Mexico police to arrest Little Rock for what was nothing more than a technical violation of his parole. Thus it was necessary for Ohio to get the FBI do their dirty work for them by fabricating the information about the outstanding warrants, even though Little Rock has committed no new offenses since 1982. In the local New Mexican media, Ed Boldt, of the Cincinnati office of the FBI, said that they had no knowledge of any alleged plot against Little Rock in spite of a barrage of faxes that had been sent to the FBI documenting that very fact.

In 1990 Little Rock signed a waiver to go with his parole orders for which he immediately filed a grievance because it violated his constitutional rights. The waiver stated that Little Rock must "obey all orders", with the word "lawful" being removed from the standard parole stipulation. Moreover, it would have given them the right to have access to all documents relating to any private or public officials — a right not even prisoners are expected to give up — and allow his house and car to be searched without warrant at any time. Little Rock challenged these as being unconstitutional. The head of the APA admitted that this was true, but after spending some time in a pre-release program, Little Rock was transferred back to Lucasville.

In 1993, Little Rock was within 6 weeks of completing his parole requirements when he was charged by police for allegedly threatening a Kentucky man. The charge stuck even though Dinah Devoto, the man's wife, was willing to testify that, in fact, it was Little Rock who was threatened. But Little Rock's parole officer was clear from the beginning that he had little say in how Little Rock's parole would be handled, that he took direct instructions from his superiors. But by Ohio law, any parole revocation must be independently decided by the parole officer with reviews first by the supervisor and then by the APA. But in this case, the final appeal body would make the initial revocation determination. The parole

officer admitted to both Dinah Devoto and Little Rock's grandmother that the decision had already been made to revoke Little Rock's parole before there was any investigation as to whether there was any grounds for such a move. When Little Rock got parole a year earlier, the president of the Ohio APA had promised Rock that if ever he were revoked, Rock would do the full fifteen years remaining on his sentence.

Under the terms of the extradition act, Little Rock can't challenge details of the warrant for parole violation from Ohio. But the governor of New Mexico, Bruce King, can order the Attorney-General or any prosecuting attorney to investigate the circumstances of the extradition order. The letter-writing campaign will target both Governor George Voinovitch of Ohio and Governor Bruce King of New Mexico. Letters and faxes can be sent to Voinovitch with copies sent to co-counsel Deborah Garlin at the Center for Advocacy of Human Rights who will take them to Governor King. Letters

should describe how Little Rock has been subjected to continual harassment (see above) for continually struggling not only for his own rights, but that of all prisoners. ~

Addresses:

Governor George Voinovitch
Center for Government and the Arts
77 South High St 30th Flr
Columbus, OH 43266-0601
Fax 614-466-9354

Send copies of your letters to:

Deborah Garlin
Center for Advocacy of Human Rights
Box 880
Ranchos De Taos, NM 87557-0880
505-751-0197

Money is urgently needed to pay for the costs of getting Little Rock out of jail, and keeping him out. Donations are tax deductible, send them to the address listed immediately above.



Spilt Milk — Lucasville 1994

It's been 16 months since the eleven day siege at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility (SOCF) located in Lucasville, Ohio. Millions of dollars have been spent on reconstruction of the prison and prosecutions of the prisoners who the state said committed "criminal acts" during the siege. Steel encased control booths with double doors controlled electronically have been constructed in each cellblock with an escape ladder and hatch built in so that the guards can escape to the roof should the security of the double doors be breached. The back walls of the cellblock have been encased in steel so the concrete can't be broken out to get to anyone hiding in the back staircase. Closed-circuit cameras have been strategically placed outside all the doors and in the hallways to monitor movement. Prisoners are only permitted out of their cells for meals, and an hour recreation a day, one range at a time and under constant surveillance and escort. Disturbance Control Team guards (Ninja Turtles) are dressed in black T-shirts and fatigues — this is a psychological tactic designed to instill fear, but actually they're just trying to dress

like us — and are stationed in the hallways to quell any disturbances. Prisoners are rushed through the dining room like cattle, rushed through their meals, then marched back range-by-range to their cells. Everything is delivered to the cells, there are no passes except for visits, for which prisoners are escorted to and from.

Young, vocal prisoners are set up and placed in the hole, and then isolation. As I was leaving the dining hall the other day, three guards attacked a young Black prisoner for the crime of refusing to clean up milk spilt by the prisoner in front of him, who offered to clean it up. But the guard refused the offer because he didn't like the other prisoner so he ordered him to clean it up. When he refused he was attacked, wrestled to the floor then taken to the hole. Myself and 8 others were escorted to the hole an hour later, placed under "investigation" merely for witnessing the attack by the guards.

The news media was told that the prisoner refused to clean up spilt milk (he wasn't a food service worker — it wasn't

his job to clean it up) and that he attacked the guards while seven other prisoners cheered him on. Just more propaganda by the guards' union who have been doing their damndest to have the prison locked down, by feeding propaganda and lies to the media and legislators. Attitudes are still a mile high due to the takeover last year.

Forty-eight prisoners have been indicted on 198 different charges, including assault, kidnapping and aggravated murder with death penalty specifications. Four of the prisoners have been found guilty of the charges, with eight pleading guilty, some of whom are turning state's evidence against the others. After the (1971) Attica riot, eight Attica prisoners were either convicted or pled guilty, but all were pardoned later by the governor due to prosecutorial misconduct. Prosecutors in Santa Fe, New Mexico promised to indict more than 100 prisoners after the (1981) riot there; however only 30 were criminally charged and early trials ended with "not guilty" verdicts — there were no death penalty convictions. Prosecutors then began reducing charges and offering plea bargains.

Ohio has hired a team of special prosecutors headed by Hamilton County Asst. Prosecutor Mark Peipmeir. The state's strategy has been to bring the lesser charges to trial, obtain convictions based on guards' and snitches' eyewitness and fabricated tes-

timony, and then use the convictions to plea bargain and obtain state's witnesses from the weaker prisoners under indictment. Five prisoners were indicted for aggravated murder with death penalty specifications. The state obtained these indictments after a negotiator during the siege agreed to turn state's evidence against his fellow prisoners regarding the death of guard Robert Vallandingham when the state failed to take negotiations seriously. This prisoner was described by the media as being one of the leaders of the Black Gangster Disciples (Lavelkle).

My brother Little Rock Reed, who has done years confined to the SOCF has agreed to assist defense attorneys in the defense of those Brothers criminally indicted for the takeover. Little Rock has written an article describing how former SOCF warden Arthur Tate helped advance violence and the oppressive conditions leading up to the takeover. The affirmative defense of self defense/justification should be a viable option for the Brothers to illustrate that the conditions were so oppressive that the takeover was necessary to save their lives. Little Rock Reed has been arrested, but assistance for the trials can be obtained through Deborah Garlin, at the Center for Advocacy of Human Rights, address in the article above. Or, contact:

continued on page 4

International Political Prisoners unite to save Mumia Abu Jamal: Art and Writings against the Death Penalty

A call for international solidarity A call for writings and art from political prisoners in the U.S.

Dear Comrade/Friend

We are writing to you as well as many other political prisoners internationally to ask you to join us by contributing your best creative energies to the fight to save our brother, U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal, from execution.

Mumia was a prominent member of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia and later distinguished himself as a radio journalist. Known as the "Voice of the Voiceless", Mumia spoke out on behalf of the poor and oppressed, particularly those of Philadelphia's Black community. In the late 1970s he was the sole reporter daring to defy the notoriously racist Philadelphia police to air the truth about their persecution and subsequent armed assault against the radical organization MOVE. As a result, Mumia himself was targeted. In 1981 Mumia witnessed and intervened when he saw the police beating his brother on the street. In the ensuing struggle, Mumia was shot and critically wounded in the abdomen; the cop was killed with a bullet from his own gun.

After being denied legal representation of choice, MOVE founder John Africa, Mumia represented himself at trial before a jury from which Black people had been systematically excluded. It was a racist railroad. The jury was driven to vote for the death penalty using statements Mumia had made as a 16-year old Panther to prove that he had been looking for the chance to kill a cop ever since.

During his 12 years on Pennsylvania's death row, Mumia has been a tireless activist against the death penalty. He has continued his journalism, publishing regular columns in newspapers around the U.S. He is a jailhouse lawyer for many of the

young men with him on death row who are largely there because adequate legal counsel wasn't given to them at trial.

The warrant for Mumia's execution now sits on the desk of Governor Robert Casey, awaiting his signature; Mumia's appeals are all but exhausted. The right-wing, led recently by Republican Senator and probable Presidential candidate Bob Dole, has been vehement in hastening the date of Mumia's execution. In June, Dole and law enforcement lobbyists were able to intimidate National Public Radio into dropping a scheduled series of interviews with Mumia. They are trying to ensure that there is no chance of a national outcry against what would be the first execution of a political prisoner since Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were electrocuted.

We are calling upon you, political prisoners around the world, to answer this fascist drive to execute Mumia Abu Jamal with international solidarity. Join us in presenting: *International Political Prisoners Unite to Save Mumia Abu Jamal: Art and Writings Against the Death Penalty* — a series of events scheduled for the week of December 10, 1994 (International Human Rights Day). Included in the activities will be an Arts and Crafts Show/Sale, dramatic presentations, readings of poetry and creative writings and other cultural works by current and former political prisoners. We are contacting actors and musicians on the street to read and present works authored by all of us behind the walls. We hope to raise money for Mumia's legal defense through the sale of the artwork and crafts and to publish a collection of the submitted writings in a book which would also be made available for sale. More importantly, we hope that by joining our voices from behind the walls, we can undertake one unified action in solidarity with a comrade who has always raised his own voice in defense of the oppressed.

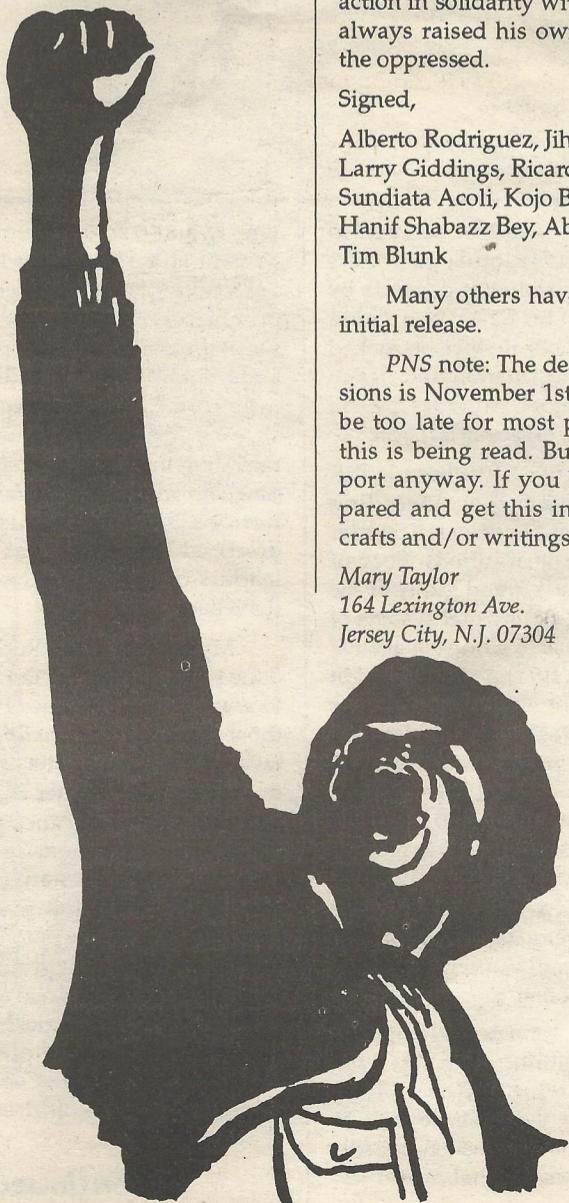
Signed,

Alberto Rodriguez, Jihad Abdul Mumit, Larry Giddings, Ricardo Jimenez, Sundiata Acoli, Kojo Bopani Sababu, Hanif Shabazz Bey, Abdush Shakur, Tim Blunk

Many others have signed this since its initial release.

PNS note: The deadline for the submissions is November 1st, which will probably be too late for most prisoners by the time this is being read. But send letters of support anyway. If you have something prepared and get this in time, send artwork, crafts and/or writings to:

Mary Taylor
164 Lexington Ave.
Jersey City, N.J. 07304



If they were going to kill my brother

If they were going to kill my brother
I would raise him ... rescue him
steal him away from the murderous
thugs of the state.

They don't need his life nohow!
They can sell it for twice what it's worth
'cause there ain't that much money in the world.

So what for do they want it?!

He don't mean nothin' no way
'cept to those who love him
and need him

and can't do without him.

I always wonder why we let freedom fighters
rot their lives away in some jail
or go down in a murder-for-hire plot
rigged by the state.

Folks be marching and hollering
and carrying signs carrying his name
demanding his freedom, but
if signs and words could free him

he woulda been free a long time ago.

This is not about revolution and we don't need
the masses to rise up and wrest away the means
of production from the criminal class. This is
about our brother's life. *His life!!!* and it only takes a few of us
who don't want him dead.

There is no magic in a uniform and badge
even if the State, Nation and World Rulers
are behind those symbols

so if somebody wants him free there he is
over there in that dungeon guarded by folks
that bleed when they're hurt just like you and me.

Jonathan, the child/man had the idea
and the brains
and the courage ...

he just didn't have the understanding that the state will
throw away functionaries within their apparatus
like they were dirty toilet tissue, and never look back.

Frederick Douglas said: "Power concedes nothing without a
Demand. It never has and it never will."

Carlos said: "You do things with bullets
because bullets are real."

It has to start somewhere and sometime
What better place than here?
What better time than now?

Free Mumia Abu Jamal!!!

by Standing Deer

Help free Alberto Rodriguez

Alberto Rodriguez and others were arrested in 1983 after continuous illegal surveillance by the FBI. They were charged with "seditious conspiracy" to use force against the U.S. government. Rodriguez, like many other independentistas, rejects the idea that the U.S. has legal authority over Puerto Rico which began after a military invasion of the island in 1898.

The government charged him with: agreeing to commit an armed robbery which never occurred; collecting weapons and explosives which were never used; and membership in the Puerto Rican Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

Rodriguez will be going before the Federal Parole Commission in December and needs letters of support.

Points to make in the letter:

Rodriguez has served his time and is eligible for parole.

He has maintained a loving relationship with his children, despite the hardships of prison life.

The charges against Alberto had more to do with his political affiliation than with any actions ever taken. The right of affiliation is protected by the U.S. Constitution.

The U.S. constitution protects the right to oppose the government if you are not in agreement with its policies.

The Parole Commission should give careful consideration to Rodriguez's record and base their decision on the merits of the case. ~

Write to:

Edward Reilly Jr.
Chairperson, Federal Parole Commission
Park Place Bldg.
5550 Friendship Blvd. Rm. 420
Chevy Chase, MD 20815

Send a copy to:

Alberto Rodriguez Parole Committee
164 Lexington Ave.
Jersey City, NJ 07304

Thanks to *Arm The Spirit* for the info. We'll have an article on the Puerto Rican POWs situation in the next issue.

Some evidence relating to the Lucasville riot

Because the Ohio government has targeted me for political imprisonment, I am currently in hiding. Well, "hiding" really isn't a true characterization of my situation. I'm actually very happy and at peace up here in some truly beautiful mountains, still active, but in a more quiet way. I come and go freely. (Little Rock Reed was arrested on September 23, 1994, Prison News Service.)

At any rate, since I'm a free man, beyond the grasp of Ohio prisoncrats and their tech-no-logical society, I want to share some information about the Lucasville "riot" that my incarcerated brothers are unable to talk about without being retaliated against. Because of my current situation, I do not have access to the documents which substantiate what I am about to say. However, the documents are contained in the record of a civil case entitled *William Rogers v. Arthur Tate, et al.*, filed in the U.S. District Court in Cincinnati, Ohio in approximately March of 1992. For anyone who cares to review that case record, you will find clear and convincing evidence that Arthur Tate, then-warden at Lucasville, wanted that riot to happen and in fact orchestrated it. Arthur Tate should be tried for the murder of every prisoner and guard who was killed as a result of his conscious and systematic efforts to incite that riot.

The Rogers record included a motion for a temporary restraining order in which the non-caring federal magistrate was informed that the riot was going to occur if Warden Tate was not forced to put an end to his plans for the riot. The motion included the affidavits of numerous prisoners on L-side (where the riot later occurred) attesting that Tate's actions would in fact result in the riot. It also contained the affidavits of sociologists who are experts on prisons and racism. Their affidavits warned the unheeding magistrate that if Warden Tate was not forced to stop his plans, the riot would be inevitable. The motion also included evi-

dence that numerous prisoners had filed formal grievances in which they expressed fear that Tate's policy was going to cause a riot, but that every single one of the grievances was rejected by the institution inspector without any investigation being conducted. The motion also included the results of a survey in which several hundred prisoners on L-side were questioned about Tate's policies, and 100% of those interviewed expressed fear that a riot was imminent.

I am the person who prepared the lawsuit for William Rogers. The prisoners on L-Side agreed that I should file the lawsuit and seek a restraining order against Arthur Tate because there was absolutely no doubt in any of our minds that a riot would take place if Tate's policies could not be stopped.

William Rogers, a 135-pound, 17-year-old black person, was convicted for a non-violent crime and sent to prison. He was shipped straight to Lucasville where prisoncrats swear they incarcerate only "the worst of the worst." He was one of the many victims of Arthur Tate's policy of forced integrated celling. Arthur Tate insisted that 33% of the prison population be double-celled with prisoners of other races. Far more than 33% of the Lucasville population was willing to accept racially integrated celling. However, Tate's policy included a provision that prohibited any prisoner from being celled with a prisoner of another race if the prisoner wanted to. Tate's plan was to fill his 33% quota with prisoners who were confirmed racists. William Rogers' introduction to Lucasville provides a case in point, and the incident I am about to describe is well documented and was witnessed by at least 25 prisoners who have sworn under oath, without any inconsistencies, to the following.

William Rogers was assigned to a cell where there lived a white man serving two

life sentences for murder. This white man has a violent history in and out of prison, and he is a well-known white-supremacist who informed the prison officials that if they attempted to place a "nigger" in his cell, he would kill the black man. Because this white man had never been actively violent towards blacks, but rather chose to live without them, Arthur Tate and his gestapo puppets ignored him and ordered William Rogers to go to this white man's cell. As Rogers was walking down the cell block toward the cell, the cell door opened and the white man stepped out onto the range and told Rogers — loudly enough for everyone in the cell block to hear him — that he was going to hurt Rogers if Rogers entered his cell. At this point, Rogers hesitated, understandably in fear, and turned to the guards who had ordered him into the cell, hoping that they would help him avoid an unnecessary, violent situation. The guards very clearly stated that he would either have to deal with the white prisoner or with them, and they made it clear to Rogers that he would be safer in the white man's cell than with them.

As Rogers began to step into the cell he was immediately struck in the eye with a blunt object by the white man. He ran down the range screaming for the guards to help him, which they did after he was sufficiently assaulted. They took him to the infirmary to have his injuries treated and then escorted him to solitary confinement after charging him with fighting, a violation of the rules, even though he never even attempted to fight the white man.

In my mind, the white man was not guilty of assault. His rights were violated and he did the only thing he could do to satisfy Arthur Tate's criteria for receiving exemption from the forced integrated celling policy. Arthur Tate orchestrated that assault. He gave the white man no choice. That cell is the white man's home for two consecutive life sentences. It is a clear violation of his human rights — and he is human — to force him to share his tiny cage with someone who's cultural, political, social and ethical values are directly contrary to his own.

And what about Rogers? He must now be forced into more violent situations with predatory, nothing-minded inmates who want to take advantage of him because of what they perceived as his weakness in the situation with the white man. It is a horrible thing that Arthur Tate has done to Rogers. But Rogers was not a human being in the eyes of Tate. He was merely a statistic to be used to justify building a new maximum security prison because Lucasville was incapable of stopping violence.

(In a memo from Tate to the director of prisons two weeks prior to the riot, Tate stated that while he was "fully supportive of our department's shift from incarceration to alternative community sanctions," assaults at Lucasville "will continue to increase due to lengths of sentences and a lack of adequate space for [violent] offenders." In his memo he complained that because Lucasville was a 23-year-old building (modeled after the U.S. Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois), it was no longer "state-of-the-art," and he had "serious concerns regarding our ability, from a design standpoint, to effectively house and manage these individuals safely.")

Tate and his officers were forewarned that if they put a black man in this white man's cell, the black man would die. Under the Ohio Revised Code, Tate and his officers were guilty of conspiracy to commit murder when they placed Rogers in that white man's cell after being informed that he would kill any black man that entered his cell. It is the policies of prisoncrats like Tate, not the prison's "design," that insures the

increase of violence. (If Tate fully supported the "shift from incarceration to alternative community sanctions," why did he even allow Rogers to be assigned to Ohio's gulag for the "worst of the worst"?)

Fortunately, the white man — and every other prisoner in the cell block — knew that Tate's "design" was to cause violence (the old "divide and conquer" tactic), so the white man refrained from carrying out the murder for Mr. Tate.

As long as the Arthur Tates of this world are permitted to have unfettered control of the prisons and prison policies, there will never be a prison that does not create violence. There will never be a prison capable of keeping men and women from becoming monsters who believe that their violence is justified when they return to the streets. There will never be peace in this world. The fact of the matter is, we must take our power back from the Arthur Tates of this world, and we have the power to do it if we are willing to stand together in solidarity.

In closing, I just want to clarify that the forced integrated celling issue is only one of the measures implemented by Arthur Tate to orchestrate the Lucasville riot. Anyone interested in more details about Tate's plan to incite the riot should first read the documents contained in the *Rogers v. Tate* case. After that, they would be well advised to investigate the many grievances that were summarily rejected by the institution inspector relating to denial of adequate medical care, denial of adequate time to eat their meals, denial of non-Christian religious freedom, guard-on-prisoner brutalization, prison officials' intentional destruction of prisoner property and incoming/outgoing mail, and absolute denial of due process in rules infraction hearings where prisoners are charged with false activities, freedom of speech, rights to petition the government for redress of grievances and denial of access to the courts, among other frequent human rights violations. These matters are well documented. It is time that someone adequately investigates them and exposes the truth — someone independent of the Department of Corrections. ~

In solidarity

Little Rock Reed
c/o Center for Advocacy of Human Rights
Box 880
Ranchos de Taos, NM 87557-0880

Letters on behalf of John Perotti

Please write to Warden Collins and demand that any charges for allegedly sending drugs out of Lucasville be dropped. (See story on page 1 for more details.)

Warden Terry Collins
Southern Ohio Correctional Facility
Box 45699
Lucasville, OH 45699
614-259-5544

Send copies, or separate letters to,
Reginald Wilkinson, Director
Department of Rehabilitation and
Corrections
1050 Freeway Dr. N.
Columbus, OH 43229
(614) 752-1164

Send copies to
State Representative Rhine McLin
16 E. Broad St. 9th Flr, Rm 901
Columbus, OH 43216
Write to Perotti and let him know that
there is support:

John Perotti #167-712
Box 45699
Lucasville, OH 45699



George V. Voinovich
GOVERNOR

OHIO DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATION AND CORRECTION

SOUTHERN OHIO CORRECTIONAL FACILITY
P.O. Box 45699
Lucasville, Ohio 45699-0001

March 22, 1993

TO: ERIC DAHLBERG, SOUTH REGION DIRECTOR
FROM: ARTHUR TATE, JR., WARDEN
SOUTHERN OHIO CORRECTIONAL FACILITY
RE: REQUEST TO CONSTRUCT A MAXIMUM SECURITY UNIT AT SOCF

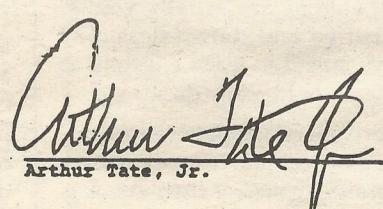
Over the past several months I have expressed my concerns relative to the need for a maximum security unit at this facility which is suitable to house those prisoners who are high security risks requiring maximum levels of supervision as well as a physical structure designed to effectively house them.

While I am fully supportive of our department's shift from incarceration to alternative community sanctions, where appropriate, it nevertheless remains to be seen that the levels of inmates in the highly assaultive, predatory category requiring maximum security confinement, will continue to increase due to lengths of sentences and a lack of adequate space for these types of offenders.

While I am in total agreement that prisoners in this "high security" category should be housed here at SOCF, I have serious concerns regarding our ability, from a design standpoint, to effectively house and manage these individuals safely. SOCF is now 23 years old and is no longer "state-of-the-art" regarding its ability to securely house certain categories of high security inmates. It is with this in mind that I enclose the attached schematic for your review.

I am fully cognizant of our department's inability to finance a serious building project at this time; however, the attached project would require significantly less of an expenditure but create a high security unit that would enable us to more effectively handle inmates requiring this level of security.

In closing, I want to reiterate that in my opinion, I cannot stress enough our need for a unit of this nature. We are suggesting that this unit be constructed in the existing space formerly known as the death-row recreation area in J block. I am sure there will be a lot of questions regarding this proposal and both myself and staff stand ready to assist in any way we possibly can.


Arthur Tate, Jr.

attachment
cc: Tom Stickrath
R. Turjanica
R. Roddy
D. See
B. Seth
File
AT/JC

A modest proposal to avoid creating a crisis in Canadian prisons

As chairman of the prisoners' committee at Collins Bay Penitentiary, Kingston, Ontario, I ask for the support of PNS readers. The petition that follows [was] mailed to the Solicitor General of Canada, the Minister of Justice, the Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Justice Committee, and various news agencies.

We who signed the petition hope to offer some resistance to those who would have the government turn our prisons into overcrowded warehouses. The facts are simple. More people are being jammed into our prisons every day. Budgets are steadily shrinking. Together these things promise us trouble.

We ask you to write to your Member of Parliament and to any of the people mentioned above to ask what they think will happen if things continue the way they are going.

We believe the system will soon deteriorate to the point where the rehabilitative model defined in our law will have to be sacrificed in favour of a purely punitive model. Were this to happen, it would exact a toll on all Canadians.

Punishment cannot solve the problems people bring with them to prison. It is politically popular to "get tough on crime". There are too few people considering the negative consequences of reacting to crimes by "tightening" our criminal laws. Please write to your elected officials and ask them

who will accept responsibility for what will come from the government's combined policies of increasing the sizes of all prison populations and cutting the money for managing and servicing those populations. Ask that prisoners nearing the end of their sentences be released a few months sooner to make room for those just beginning their sentences.

If someone is serving a short federal sentence, then they were not meant to be incapacitated in the first place. A few months off of their sentences will mean only that: a few months off of their sentences. Those serving long sentences would still serve long sentences if they were to get a few months taken off at the end of their sentences — the minimum federal sentence is two years.

If nothing is done, it is likely that all prisoners will find it more difficult to turn themselves around while in prison. Please ask questions of our politicians on our behalf. We at Collins Bay would be interested in reading their responses in future issues of PNS. ∞

Roy Glaremin #777716A
Box 6700
Kingston, Ont K7L 5P8

Readers, whether in prison or not, should xerox off the petition, collect signatures and submit it to the listed government officials. Please send copies to the Inmate Committee, c/o Roy Glaremin.

Petition on behalf of Collins Bay inmate committee

We, the undersigned support the following petition submitted to the Government of Canada by the inmate committee at Collins Bay Penitentiary.

We, the undersigned, are inmates of Collins Bay Penitentiary. We petition the Solicitor General of Canada to cap the population of this penitentiary at 550. If that were done, it would leave 200 of the prisoners in our population doublebunked.

The continual increase in the number of men doublebunked combines with cutbacks in staffing and other areas to increase levels of frustration in our population and in the ranks of the staff we interact with daily. We believe this frustration causes the prison to be less safe for all concerned. We know frontline staff believe the same.

There is less food, less hot water, and less space. Staff cannot keep up with their responsibilities relating to casework. This means people are serving extra time. In most cases this extra time amounts to less than a year, but this time is also less productive in present circumstances than it would otherwise be, so people are serving more time and are not more likely to stay out of trouble as a result.

If a safety valve is not built into the system to bring prison populations back to manageable levels, then the whole prison system will continue changing into a giant warehouse. Keeping people in prison longer under meaner conditions will not help anyone. We are not alone in believing this.

The CSC's commissioner, the Correctional Investigator, the Chairman of the Justice Committee, citizens who do volunteer work inside our walls, and many academics and social workers who have studied this matter agree that the present trend of increasing the size of our prison populations, while reducing the money given to

manage the system, is having and will continue to have negative consequences.

Most prisoners return to the community; only a few die in here. As conditions inside worsen, so will the chances of reforming people while they are here.

We suggest that the Federal Government enact a law to cap prison populations at 20% over capacity. When this cap is approached, all prisoners serving definite sentences would have either three months or six months taken off of their sentences.

No prison system is perfect. Ours is better than most in that it teaches prisoners. With the ability to teach prisoners, the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) is part of the solution; without this ability, the CSC is part of the problem. At present, the CSC is moving rapidly from the former to the latter. We ask you to help stop this movement.

Addresses:

Hon. Jean Cretien
Prime Minister
309 S. Centre Block
Ottawa, ON K1A 0H8

Warren Allmand, M.P.
Chairman, Justice Committee
Room 104, East Block
Ottawa ON K1A 0A6

Hon. Allan Rock
Justice Minister of Canada
Justice Building
239 Wellington Street
Ottawa, ON K1A 0H8

Hon. Herb Gray
Solicitor General of Canada
340 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, ON K1A 0P8

Sponsored by:

Inmate Committee, Collins Bay Penitentiary
Kingston, ON

Lucasville update

from page 1

Professor Lance Kramer
AOC Associates
1321 Autumn Hill Dr.
Columbus, OH 43215

On other legal fronts, the class action of *Morris v. Voinavitch*, Case No. C-1-93-436 is pending in the U.S. District Court in Cincinnati, Ohio — Judge Spiegel presiding. This suit deals with all uses of force incurred by guards/prisoners during the siege, the inadequate access to the law library, medical treatment, or programs during the lockdown, property losses and the lockdown in general. Anyone with claims or seeking assistance for treatment at SOCF should contact,

Alphonse A. Gerhardstein, attorney-at-law
617 Vine St
1409 Enquirer Bldg
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202.

Also, anyone with specific instances of retaliation due to protected First Amendment rights, or specific instances of the denial of access to the law library, transfers from other prisons to SOCF without advance written notice or hearings, RIB Appeals from the warden to central office without a decision being made within the 30 day time period should write:

David Skidmore
Vorys, Sater, Seymour and Pease
Suite 2100-Atrium Two
221 East 4th St. Box 0236
Cincinnati, OH 45201-0236
(513) 723-4000.

Skidmore is representing Chryz Knecht, John Perotti and Keith Ledger in *Knecht et al v Voinavitch et al.*, Case No C-1-94-12 (SD Ohio WD) (Judge Spiegel). Anyone witnessing or knowing of specific instances of retaliation directed at these prisoners (or of specific instances of being harassed by the Disturbance Control Team) should contact them and Attorney Skidmore.

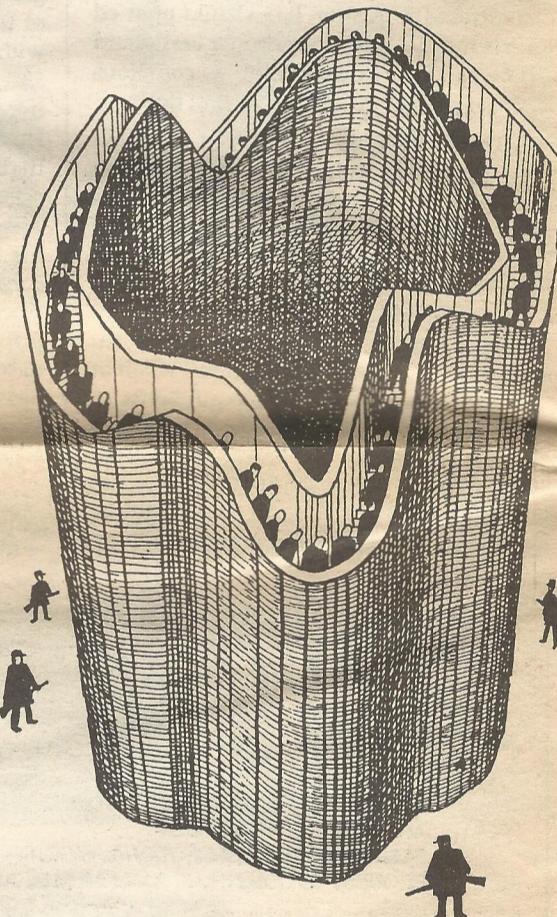
It's up to us to open Lucasville back up — the guards' union wants it locked down — so all cases of prisoner-on-prisoner assaults are used by them to justify their cry to lockdown Lucasville. Let's work together rather than against each other to further our goals of opening it back up — put aside petty differences and stand united against

them, not each other. Utilize all available legal remedies, informal complaint resolutions, grievances, and suits first. We need the families and friends of those imprisoned to speak to the media and legislators to let them know what is done to us in these Kamps.

Last, those that tend to grumble about how bad it is at Luke now and blame those involved in the takeover need to re-evaluate the placement of the blame. Not everyone can file or litigate suits. They lack the knowledge, and not everyone believes they should just accept what is meted out to them in silence. Those Brothers who took a stand did it to bring about change. While it may not have had positive effects that you can see now — you can believe that it will in the future. Men cannot be treated like animals and continue to accept that treatment. Blame the prisonrats for initiating the oppressive treatment that caused men to react in desperation and seize the moment — not your fellow prisoners — all of whom are paying dearly now. They deserve your respect, not your disrespect. ∞

Remember Attica!
Remember Santa Fe!
But most of all,
Remember Lucasville!!!

A Field Marshall



The Iron Fist in Redneck County

Notice has been taken of the perpetration of a cruel and unusual shame in North Florida Reception Center near Lake Butler. Prisoners have been beaten. Resultant death has not been unknown.

Most recently, guards like Vaughn, Baas, and White will take a prisoner into the stairwell or office of the cellblock for a beating. The victims are usually young, and all are cuffed and defenseless. The good old boys intend to teach a lesson, as if the brain-dead could really do so.

Victim prisoners are battered relentlessly. Guards threaten to prevaricate charges of assaulting staff if their attack is reported, to medical, anyone outside prison, or even inside. For safety reasons, we cannot give approximate dates of offenses or identities of victims, but the facts are established for pending prosecution. Most of the beatings were noticed

and recorded (video and audio) — even those that some victims are unwilling to talk about.

This agent seeks to publicize the fact that the beatings occur, in hopes of immediate deterrence. Besides, it is important for The People to be informed of what is really happening inside.

Vicious beatings are a manifestation of ignorance on the part of the guards. These are crimes that cannot be ignored. We will continue to record the pattern of beatings. In the guise of prisoners ourselves, we will continue discussing the incidents with victims, so they will be brave in prosecution.

In case of imminent peril, we will intervene. Until this investigation is complete, we can only assure prisoners of NFRC that we know, we know.

Reported and Monitored by Field Marshall II

Double bunking — double the trouble

The current practice of housing two prisoners per cell is an accepted one in federal prisons in Canada. As well as being an abhorrent situation for many prisoners, this practice is contrary to the Statutes of Canada 1992: Chapter 20, which state "...the Service (CSC) shall take all reasonable steps to ensure that penitentiaries, the penitentiary environment, the living and working conditions of inmates and the working conditions of staff members are safe, healthful and free of practices that undermine a person's personal dignity". The result of double-bunking and over-crowding is that prisons originally designed and constructed to house one prisoner per cell have been altered accordingly, and the practice is leading to unsafe, unhealthy and degrading conditions.

All federal prisoners of the Ontario Region are housed initially at Millhaven Assessment Unit (MAU) in two-person cells, originally designed for one prisoner. There is no regard for possible incompatibility and only on occasion can a prisoner request and be granted cell changes. Every second (half of the entire number) cell in Kingston Penitentiary (KP) is also currently set up to accommodate two prisoners. Joyceville Inst. is also seriously over-crowded and new arrivals are double-bunked up to six months if not longer, with reports that some prisoners in segregation are triple-bunked.

There are many sources of conflict when prisoners are double-bunked. A minor example is when one prisoner smokes cigarettes while the other does not. There are occasions wherein CSC staff attempt to accommodate a non-smoker who complains, but this depends on particular staff, who mostly are not concerned. Generally

the rule is to shut up and do your time.

It has been reported on many occasions wherein there has been violence between cell-mates because not everyone can get along. In a segregation unit in MAU in Aug. '94, for example, a prisoner was found stabbed to death in the morning when staff made their rounds. The suspect/cellmate had been released from a dissociation cell the day before. Situations such as this may occur as a result of differences based on race, religion and/or aggressive/passive character, sexual orientation, etc. I personally was informed and heard several times from security staff at MAU, "if you cannot get along, you go to the hole". I was also informed that "violence will not be tolerated, so it is your (the prisoners') job to police each other".

While I choose non-violent methods to deal with conflict and problem solving, and usually can benefit from them, many others do not have these skills, nor are they physically capable of defending themselves. This creates a state of extreme fear in situations wherein an aggressive and/or violent prisoner can easily prey on his or her cell partner. Unfortunately, it sometimes results in the weaker using extreme measures and deaths do occur as a result. It also results in "muscling" for material goods, (unreported) sexual assaults and physical altercations. It necessitates prisoners having to decide between either enduring hardship and possible injury, or informing on the aggressor, which leads to future violence and/or compounding of fear. It is notable that prison deaths do occur in disproportionate numbers compared to deaths in society.

Because of double-bunking, there are situations wherein sixty prisoners dwell and socialize in areas designed for forty. This example shows how over-crowding of such spaces causes undue tension, violence and adapting to a space unfit for the number of prisoners housed. In a maximum security prison, i.e., MAU and Kingston Penitentiary, these adverse conditions are compounded because of more lock-up, not enough jobs to go around, meaning less privileges and movement in any given twenty-four hour period.

Another result of double-bunking besides the unsafe conditions, is an unhealthy environment. It is near impossible to not contract common viruses resulting in flu and colds when one of two cell partners

is infected. Fortunately there has not been an epidemic of tuberculosis and/or Hepatitis A, but the potential is there since these often fatal illnesses are opportunistic. The mere thought of contracting HIV/AIDS is also a potential for undue fear, psychological harm and violence, and the misconceptions due to inadequate HIV/AIDS education compounds these.

There are serious strains on resources necessary for the upkeep of personal hygiene. For example, at MAU, there is only enough time for a five minute shower when the opportunity arises every second day, as is the schedule at this time. The close proximity of the sink to sleeping and eating areas do not allow for effective use of same.

It is notable that other personal habits can negatively influence prisoners in such close proximity to each other. As some people might sleep longer, because they may in fact require more sleep, another may not need so much. It is near impossible to not wake a cell partner when flushing the toilet for example.

There are varying uses of leisure time, some may watch television while another may wish to read. Often-times there is conflict over who gets to do what and it is unreasonable to expect prisoners to have the social skills to negotiate and assert themselves in a manner another may not find aggressive.

Conditions of double-bunking also result in the loss of personal dignity. The arbitrariness of forced compatibility can render the prisoner utterly powerless and feeling loss of a sense of control over one's being. A continuing state of fear with no escape wherein there is the potential of one prisoner preying on a physically weaker one is also one that results in the loss of personal dignity. Being forced to use the toilet

facility in such close proximity is also a degrading act, one that is a biological and necessary function. There are times when one prisoner is eating, and his/her cellmate can do nothing but answer the call of nature. The implications are a loss of a sense of self-worth, among many other adverse effects.

Most prisoners are sentenced to incarceration for anti-social behaviours. Some are more anti-social than others, which is responsible for a state in which one is continually questioning the potential outcome of his or her actions and/or personal behaviours. It causes one to change habits to conform to what may be displeasing and in disagreement with one's personal moral code of values and principles. The potential to transform a pro-social offender because of such a closed, overcrowded environment is obvious and occurs frequently, especially when a prisoner is young and easily influenced. Conforming to a cell-partner's habits, lifestyle and thinking is much easier than to not, especially when some are physically and psychologically weaker than others.

While the current practice of double-bunking is contrary to law governing CSC, it is also contrary to guaranteed rights of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as the United Nations "Standard Minimum Rules For Treatment Of Prisoners". Some people are put in jail for breaking the law, but it seems Correctional Services of Canada can do as they wish and it remains unquestioned. There is currently a court challenge by prisoners at Joyceville Inst. against double-bunking and there will be a report of future news on this. ~

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Toronto, ON M5T 2W1



Forced celling policy at Lucasville

The forced celling policy wasn't brought to the public's attention until prisoners raised the issue during the Lucasville uprising last year. When the issue was brought up, prisoners were under a great deal of pressure and did not have the time to explain the problem in detail. Prisoners were greatly concerned about prison officials' efforts to force racial integration in the celling policy. Integrated celling was always a choice left up to each prisoner, and many prisoners choose to integrate. To force prisoners to cell with someone that they don't want to cell with will often lead to fights, assaults, rapes and even death.

Although the issue at Lucasville did involve forced racial integration, the issue of a forced celling policy is much more complex than a racial issue. Forced celling does involve forced integration, it involves forced celling of any type in a prison. The problems of forced celling can be caused by an extreme age difference, differences in sexual orientation, cultural, moral or ethnic differ-

ences. It could become a serious problem if there is an extreme personality clash. Some prisoners refuse to live in a cell with anyone and will attack any prisoner placed in the same cell. Knowing this, prison officials will still force another prisoner into the cell — knowing that it will result in an immediate physical confrontation.

Whenever a prisoner expresses a serious problem concerning a cell assignment, the prisoner should immediately be assigned to another cell. In the prisons in Ohio that do enforce a forced celling policy, fights assaults and rapes are common occurrences that result in facial scars, broken bones, maiming and sometimes even death. The mental stress caused by forced celling is extreme. In some cases cellmates sleep with shanks taped to their hands for fear that their cell mate will attack while they're asleep.

Forced celling also applies where there is close living quarters in crowded dormitories. If the guy in the next bed hates your

guts, naturally you would want to move to another bed. I have a scar on the corner of my left eye that I received as a result of snoring loudly. My cellie was a light sleeper and couldn't sleep while I snored. When we approached the unit staff requesting that one of us be moved, the correctional counsellor responded that the only way we could get a cell change was if we fought. My cellie immediately struck me, scaring me for life. But we got the cell change and my ex-cellie got his sleep from then on.

Once a prison enacts a forced celling policy, the only way a prisoner can get a cell move is through a disciplinary action. This means going to the "hole". Unit staff and guards often respond to requests for cell changes by telling the prisoners that they will have to fight and go to the "hole" first. Prison officials deny that forced celling causes serious problems or they claim that the problems are few and far between and of little concern. Forced celling is a dangerous and potentially deadly policy. It is understandable that prisoners at Lucasville maximum security prison would be upset by this policy. How long will prison officials continue to enforce this policy? ~

Ohio Prisoners' Rights Union

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Consciousness means action

"In the living night come voices from the source. We go to find Our audience, open our mouths to pass on what We have heard. But We are fallen among a fantastic tumult. The noise the hypnotized make, multiplied by every echoing cave of Our labyrinth trap, is heavier, a million times louder than the sounds We carry."

Ayi Kwei Armah —Two Thousand Seasons

i suspect that my adolescent years were no different than any other colonial victim here in north amerika. i went to the same state-controlled schools that most of Us are required to attend, lest Our parents or guardians could be arrested. While there i ran the gamut of illusional aspirations just as most of Us have. In the first grade i wanted to be a fireman. In the second grade i wanted to be a fireman. In the second grade i wished to be a policeman and by the third grade i was an aspiring artist. But once i had gotten to the fourth grade, these desires, as well as academia, began to take a back seat to my wanting to be an athlete. So in this way my young life was very similar to most. i stood up and took the massive doses of u.s. propaganda — the pledge of allegiance, the u.s. national anthem, the full charge of his-story and the fallacy of the "this land is my land, this land is your land" trip. i, like millions before me, was undergoing the colonial indoctrination required by imperial imposition from the time i had been registered in 1967 until the time i escaped from the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) in 1975.

During my stint in the LAUSD, i was relegated to the position that i was to hold forever in this kountry, i.e. a colonial subject whose productive force is tied up to benefit the state. While at large, out and away from the school, New Afrikan revolutionaries had begun to be heard above and beyond the sterile cries of the calcified Civil Rights/Integrationist Movement. They were expanding on the Malcolm X Doctrine: Human Rights, Land, Independence and Self-Determination. Of course, i was ignorant of all of this, as my mother functioned as a second wall, next to the school, in keeping me in the blind about such issues. Often, maternal instincts make cowards of colonial-victim children, males in particular. Because to stand up and be a man or woman in amerika means acknowledging Our oppression. This in turn calls for either some psychological adjustments to avoid it, or trying to unite the oppressed to eliminate it. Mothers know that this usually means an early death. We've been conditioned by colonial circumstances to want to live longer than to live well, Our mothers are not exempt from this.

Nonetheless, bits and pieces of news concerning the Black Liberation Movement (BLM) did trickle down to me from second-hand sources, usually word of mouth, rumors. i remained secretly impressed by the BLM in general and the Black Panther Party in particular. The school never acknowledged the existence of the BLM; even the New Afrikan teachers acted as if nothing was happening between Our Nation and amerika.

By '69 the BLM was under heavy attack — in rapid decline, having experienced its hightide in '67 or '68. The initial decay of the Black Liberation Movement was, as all things are, from within. The internal, qualitative make-up of the BLM fell to disrepair long before the external counter-revolutionary assault by the u.s. government began.

The united states counter-revolutionary assault did not "destroy" the BLM, but it did aid in its destruction from within. Thus, 1969 found South Central (like other depressed areas) virtually leaderless. The community activists and would-be revolutionaries had either been driven underground, captured or killed by counter-insurgents of the government. And in the

absence of Our leadership came rampant opportunism, criminality and a general state of apathy within the New Afrikan community. The opportunism was represented by the neo-colonial stooges lining up to run for office in any capacity for the state, to betray the general interest of Our nation. The apathy among the masses came as a result of one thousand groups claiming to know the nature of Our problems, yet not one being able to relieve Us of suffering thru the practical application of their theory. The criminality rose up in the form of street organizations ("gangs") and was largely represented by the Crips and Bloods.

By the time of my escape from LAUSD in '75, i was already being absorbed by the criminal elements on the street. Thus i joined the only standing youth force available to me — the Crips. And while i was raised in a single parent home, headed by my mother, the scared-to-death-of-me-being-killed matriarch, i do not attribute my joining the street organization to a "dysfunctional" family; it's deeper than that.

i am more apt to associate my entrance into the realm of criminality with Our collective dysfunctional relationship with amerika; which is to point up abnormal circumstances characterizing Our condition here. Certainly, this is a classical case of a state being "dysfunctional" if there ever was one. The laws governing the perpetuation of this state are largely unwritten, and seldom spoken, yet they remain the mandates evoked by the objective protocols of colonialism. To look at it in any other way is but a psychological adjustment; an attempt to avoid action and eradicate the horrible reality of this fact.

Once i rejected amerika's jurisdiction over my life by joining the Crips, i began to experience the second stage of colonial indoctrination — capture. You see, once i joined the Crips, i automatically gave up the little allegiance i had to anything else. This included family, community, church and state. My loyalty lay with the mores of the set governed by the culture of that formation.

The amerikan flag and the u.s. national anthem, along with its fallacious his-story, ceased to be of importance to me. The flag of my unit became the sole manifestation of Our sovereignty. When i recognized the omnipotent prestige of the colonial empire, i was able to break its laws. And while my small acts of criminality did nothing whatsoever to threaten the stability of the empire, it did sharpen the fundamental contradiction underlying my relationship, albeit dysfunctional, with the state.

This, or course, drew the attention of the state and they dispatched their political police to invade the areas most populated by those colonial subjects with the least bit of faith and awe in the imperial system.

When mis-education is not enough to maintain one's awe for the oppressor nation, the next stage of coercion is jail. This adds new light as to why there are some 700,000 New Afrikans in u.s. prisons today.

i was initially captured as an outlaw when i was 13. And since jail was (and still is) a tool used by the u.s. to control us, not rehabilitate us, i knew i'd be spending a lot of time there. i had two choices, either be a Crip, which meant to be an outlaw and be subjected to the harshest treatments imaginable within the second stage of colonial indoctrination, or i could simply be a "good boy," recognize the imperial state and kowtow — psychologically adjust to the menacing weight of Our National Oppression. i chose the former. But what is most important to note here is that while i was adamantly anti-amerikan, i was not pro-New Afrikan. i was stuck in the criminal/colonial mindset that most of Us



New Afrika, and pledged to Free the Land!

This is the only viable alternative to u.s. colonialism and imperialist domination over our lives. We cannot reason with the oppressor. We cannot expect the oppressor to come to his senses and cease his prosperous exploitation of our national productive forces. Patience in this regard is suicidal; and those petty bourgeois integrationists who consciously serve Our people up as food for the people-eating machinery of amerikanism are guilty of high treason!

We have the resources within the new Afrikan Nation necessary to build an infrastructure capable of sustaining a People's Protracted War against the u.s. imperialist, for National Independence. But, as long as We continue to follow blindly behind the neo-colonial toms, who have folks thinking they are hyphenated Afrikans (Afro-Amerikans, Black Americans, Afrikan-Americans, etc.). We'll continue to beg the problem-makers to be Our problem solvers. Only people in dysfunctional relationships think such thoughts.

It is not normal to believe that within the problem lies the solution. The bare fact is this: the u.s. empire was born out of the capture, kidnap and colonial domination of New Afrika. The u.s. empire will only die as a result of the Independence of New Afrika. Freedom means being in control of the mechanisms that determine the quality of life. Independence means Land. There can be no freedom without control of destiny, there can be no Independence without Land. To think otherwise is counter-revolutionary.

Real Nationalism means a struggle to liberate Land. We've got to be in tune to the reality, the reality which is that We are an oppressed Nation, colonized by amerikan capitalists. We are not amerikans, We are victims of amerikanism. This "ism" is binding upon Our participation. We, therefore, are ultimately responsible for Our own liberation. This of course means that our oppression continues, because We are slow to re-build Our Vanguard Organization. Self-Determination means relying on self now, not when the Nation is independent. By then, it will be too late. We learn Self-Determination and Communist modes of exchange as We fight. It is time We relegate the imperialist u.s. to the history books once and for all. Stand up and be counted amongst the righteous. Join the New Afrikan Independence Movement to Free The Land! ~

Sanyika Shakur
s/n Kody Scott #D 07829
P.O. Box 7500 C-3-106L
Crescent City, CA 95532

Police-Nazi collaboration in Toronto

In the past few months alone, what has for too long been dismissed as paranoia and conspiracy theorizing on the part of a small lunatic fringe (usually by people who are sheltered enough from neo-Nazi violence and police brutality to be able to turn a blind eye to it) has proven to be a widespread and systematic reality. The role of the police has gone from outright protection of neo-Nazi marches and property and criminalization of anti-fascists to outrightly collaborating with and helping to build white supremacist organizations.

First, a Metro kkkop named Brad Coulbeck was charged by an ultra public relations-conscious but hilariously embarrassed police chief Bill McCormack (Toronto's own cold-blooded racist counterpart to former LAPD fuhrer Daryl Gates) with discreditable conduct (sic) after it was exposed that he not only was on the Heritage Front mailing list and had actively purchased and distributed fascist propaganda, but had travelled to the U.S. to attend several white supremacist gatherings, including a 1992 Ku Klux Klan gathering in Arkansas. Coulbeck went into complete denial, first denying being a racist or an HF member, and then later claiming that he had infiltrated the HF to help in a criminal investigation. To date, it has never been documented anywhere that Coulbeck was ever assigned to any such investigation.

However, an affidavit sworn by Heritage Front defector Elishe Hategan for the Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudice (CCRP) recounted a chance meeting with Coulbeck in a courthouse in the summer of 1993. Although Hategan, who is living in clandestinity, refused to speak to any mainstream media, her affidavit alleged that Coulbeck recognized her from an HF video he had purchased, and swore that she was later told by a founding HF member that Coulbeck was an active and confirmed neo-Nazi.

It was then revealed that Con. Alistair Stark of the Hate Crimes Unit (HCU), which was formed under community pressure (mostly from the more assimilated and privileged elements of the (white) Gay/Lesbian community) in 1993 for the supposed purpose of investigating racist and homophobic violence. Stark had met with top Heritage Front fuhrers Wolfgang Droege, Grant Bristow (a name to resurface in this article) and Gerry Lincoln to show them photographs from a June 28th, 1993 demonstration organized by the Toronto Coalition Against Racism (TCAR) to obtain their assistance in helping identify members of Anti-Racist Action implicated in the June 11th, 1993 ARA action in which the house of the then-voice of the HF hate-line Gary Schipper was trashed.

This was revealed on May 16th, 1994 when Stark took the stand in the College Park Courthouse, after having been subpoenaed to testify by defence counsel for five anti-racists implicated and charged in connection with June 11th. On the stand, Stark openly and unapologetically admitted that members of the unit had surveilled and photographed anti-racist demonstrators during the June 28th demo, and just as shamelessly proclaimed he had personally brought these photographs to the apartment of Wolfgang Droege, where he invited Droege and the two other fascists to look through the photos.

This was just weeks after Droege had been charged with weapons offences and aggravated assault for breaking the jaw of an ARA supporter during a street fight between HF wanna-be stormtroopers and anti-fascist youth on June 11th. Droege, a longtime confirmed Nazi with an atrocious history of being an active participant in some of the most atrocious neo-Nazi violence in the Canadian context, spent three years in a U.S. prison for his involvement in the 1981 attempted invasion of the Caribbean island nation of Dominica by a

white supremacist mercenary army comprised of members of three Ku Klux Klan chapters, the Western Guard, the National Socialist Party of America, and the National Alliance, in an attempt to establish a base for international Klan and Nazi terrorism. Droege's role would have been running a cocaine processing plant. He was also a top goon for the fascist Western Guard Party, a neo-Nazi group active in Toronto during the 1970s, which was responsible for countless attacks against the Afrikan and Jewish communities as well as against the Left, and he was a national organizer for the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Thus, the HCU was allowed to collaborate with one of the most dangerous and notorious fascist criminals in North Amerikkka in jeopardizing and putting at risk the lives of the very people it was supposedly formed to protect, and directly aid the exact types of hate crimes it was supposedly formed to crack down on.

The most frightening revelation of all, however, was a leak this past August that Grant Bristow, who had been active in the fascist movement for at least five years, was a paid informant and agent for Canada's own wanna-be CIA and spy agency, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). Bristow, the so-called counter-intelligence chief and co-ordinator of security for the HF, not only helped found and finance the HF, Canada's largest and most (for lack of a better term) successful fascist organization to date, but also directed a nefarious harassment campaign of death threats and beatings of anti-fascists.

The Canadian state was very quick to attempt to make sickeningly shallow and backwards attempts to justify forming an organization which carried out acts of wholesale terrorism (much like the state itself and its avenues) including racist and homophobic attacks, beatings, killings, bombings, etc. by stating that they had identified the HF as a so-called "threat to national security."

According to a press release issued by the CCRP on August 16th, Bristow, who was apparently paid \$50,000 to \$60,000 in 1993 alone by CSIS, had a long history of being the main contact in Canada for the international white supremacist movement. In 1991, when the RCMP, the Ontario Provincial Police, and Immigration Canada

arrested convicted Aryan Nations terrorist Sean Maguire (who was banned from entering the country) with a wide assortment of guns, Bristow was Maguire's driver. Bristow later got off scot-free without being struck with any criminal charges while Maguire, despite his long criminal record in the U.S. and the seizure of numerous weapons in the car, was deported without any criminal charges. (Thus providing a nice example of how laws in Canada against the entry of so-called "illegals" and/or what the state would define as terrorists are very selectively enforced and handled.)

Between 1991 and 1994, Bristow was also involved in actions that would allow major neo-Nazis (i.e. Tom and John Metzger, Dennis Mahon, and Ewald Althans) to enter Canada and meet with local fascists in order to facilitate the development of the HF, as well as helping to coordinate trips made to Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal, and the U.S. by top members of the HF.

While under the direct supervision of CSIS, based upon affidavits signed by Hategan, it was revealed that Bristow taught HF members how to break into voice mailboxes and answering machines and coordinated a campaign of psychological warfare and harassment by providing the fascists with addresses and phone numbers of anti-racists.

This resulted in numerous brutal physical assaults, people getting stalked in their homes and work places, vandalism, a disgustingly misogynist and lesbophobic campaign of harassment against YouthLink, a hostel for young wimmin, which culminated in its firebombing, another arson attack directed at the home of a Jewish anti-racist activist in Kitchener, and the beating of a Tamil man which left him paralysed. It was also revealed that Bristow supplied information about prominent Jewish organizations such as the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai Brith Canada to a number of extremely violent U.S. neo-Nazi groups, most prominently Tom Metzger and the White Aryan Resistance (WAR). (5) As with the bombing of the Morgenthaler abortion clinic that the HF was impli-

cated in during May of 1992, absolutely zero criminal charges were laid in either of the two firebombings mentioned above. In effect, so little harm and so much strengthening was dealt to the fascist Right by Bristow and CSIS, that top HF fuhrer Gerry Lincoln even went on record saying, "The positive things he did for us outweigh any negative things. I'd like to have 10 more men like him."

It must not be forgotten for a millisecond that whatever threat to state power the extreme Right has ever posed in this context, it could never in a million years have posed that threat without the direction, resources, and finances provided to them by CSIS via Bristow. Not only is this nothing new, but one of the bigger ironies of this particular scandal is that it was exactly these same types of scandals that led to the eventual dismantling of the RCMP Secret Service (SS), and the formation of CSIS in 1984, after the cases of Robert Toope (an RCMP informant who infiltrated the Western Guard and subsequently committed hundreds of crimes for that group), and William Lau Richardson (another RCMP informant who joined the Ku Klux Klan and formed the Klan

cont'd. on pg. 19



A Summer of ARA trials finally ends... in victory

Toronto's Anti-Racist Action spent 13 days of the summer in court in two trials, supporting 12 defendants arrested in connection with demonstrations against Toronto's neo-nazis. In the end, neither judge could bring himself to convict anyone on the flimsy evidence, and everyone got off! It wasn't that they wouldn't have gone along with a frame-up, but they were contrary enough to demand that the Crown (the prosecution, PNS) and the police at least do it competently.

Five defendants were charged with mischief in connection with a demonstration June 11, 1993, when ARA brought the struggle right to the doorstep of a Heritage Front propagandist, doing considerable damage to his home. Outnumbered and outwitted, cops were forced to stand by and made no arrests at the time. But in the hysteria that followed, the police force made four arrests to cover their asses, picking people up at other anti-racist events. A fifth arrest was made six months later. The other group of seven was arrested at a November 1994 demonstration outside the bunker of Ernst Zundel, an internationally-known nazi propagandist/organizer and Holocaust-denier. (Among those charged

was a member of the Bulldozer collective.)

The intention of the Crown and the cops was to handle both cases as simple criminal matters: "You have the right to demonstrate but this time you broke the law." However, the defendants insisted on collective trials and a more political strategy. Beginning in May 1994, when the June 11 group went on trial, defense lawyers emphasized the role of police "intelligence" in making the arrests — a role which the Crown had minimized in the interests of keeping politics out of the trial. In particular, they exposed the collaboration between a senior intelligence officer and Heritage Front leaders in identifying anti-racists.

Other significant political points were made. Both judges accepted that wearing disguises at an anti-fascist demonstration is a reasonable precaution to take, rejecting the Crown argument that masking proves a defendants' criminal intentions. In the June 11 case the judge also resisted falling into the Crown's trap of holding demonstration organizers responsible for the actions of everyone at the event, without compelling evidence tying them to so-called criminal acts. The Zundel demo judge went even further, challenging police credibility and

asking why arrests had been made at all.

Basically, people were acquitted because the collective strategy allowed defense lawyers to totally destroy the fabricated and twisted cop evidence by exposing its internal contradictions. The collective defense also allowed the group to bring a more political flavour to the trials, making straight-up criminalization of the accused more difficult, in the media and in the community. (For example, defendants were referred to as "anti-racist activists" rather than "hooligans".) Because the charges were relatively minor in comparison with the repression experienced at the hands of police by so many communities, ARA did not run high-profile defense campaigns. But the organization did make sure that people in Toronto knew about the cases and the courtroom was always full of folks ready to show their support and to face nazis if necessary. (None showed up.)

Undeniably, 14 arrests over less than a year and a half of organizing has had its intended effect of disrupting the youth-based, activist group. But after a summer of trials ARA remains intact, a victory in itself. Hopefully, the acquittals will build some confidence that the community can organize street actions successfully and effectively, and can defend itself against police reprisals. Most importantly, energy directed inwards during the course of the trials can now be redirected outside against the common enemies. ☺

Epicenters for Epidemics

Prisons — with their crowded living conditions, a population coming from the health hazards of poverty, and many inmates with histories of substance abuse — are perfect hothouses for the spread of infectious diseases. The New York State prison system ("DOCS," for Department of Correctional Services) is reputed to have the largest AIDS medical practice of any single institution in the U.S. It was also a major locale for the 1990-92 outbreak of the new and deadly multidrug-resistant strains of tuberculosis (MDR - TB). Correctional departments — whose raison d'être is "security," not medical care — have been ill-equipped to respond adequately to the new wave of epidemics. As the New York State Advisory Council on AIDS warned in 1989, DOCS could become a "charnel house in which inmates...are consigned to tragic deaths, in pain and isolation." These health problems are at least incipient in most other prison systems and have reached serious proportions in California, Florida, and New Jersey.

Given the prevailing political climate, much of the public might just as soon see large numbers of prisoners die. Such a disdain for life, however, only promotes the same inhumane values that foster crime in the first place, and such vindictiveness is self-destructive. The great majority of inmates eventually return to society. Any who are unnecessarily infected and all who are ignorant of preventive measures may intensify the spread of the epidemics in the outside community. Good medical care, prevention and education inside prison are of vital importance to the larger society.

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) is the research and development agency of the U.S. Department of Justice. Since 1985, NIJ has published seven national surveys on HIV/AIDS in correctional facilities. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) co-sponsored this latest update, which is based on a comprehensive survey sent to all 51 state and federal systems and to 37 of the largest city and county jails. (Jails are for pre-trial detainees and short sentences of a year or less.) A companion survey was done regarding TB, resulting in the new NIJ/CDC report on that subject. All 51 state and federal systems answered the questionnaires, as did 31 of the 37 jail systems. Given the time needed to collect and compile the data, these recently released reports summarize the situation through the end of 1992. These two books provide us with the best

overview of the epidemics in prisons and jails; at the same time they are replete with gaps and distortions.

From the beginning of the epidemic through November, 1992, there were 11,565 reported cases of inmates with AIDS. (This would be about 10 times the rate of incidence in the total U.S. population.) And, there were 3,474 reported cumulative AIDS deaths. The reported figures understate the reality — not only because numerous small country jails aren't reporting, but also because of doctors' failures to make the

AIDS diagnosis. There are no solid figures on the incidence of HIV infection. Intake surveys in ten different jurisdictions indicate very serious levels: a range of between 2.1 to 7.6 percent for male inmates and 2.5 to 14.7 percent for females. Samplings for NYS DOCS indicate 12 percent for men and 20 percent for women.

NIJ / CDC

appropriately highlight the higher rate for younger women coming into jail, compared to young men, and acknowledge some of the particular medical needs of women. They also point to the higher nationwide rates of AIDS for blacks and Hispanics compared to white. Here, though, the authors understate the problem by providing cumulative totals over the history of the epidemic. (The statistics for new cases in 1992 are alarmingly worse: the black and Hispanic AIDS rates are respectively about 4.5 and 3 times the white rate — and current HIV incidence is probably even more skewed — as the eye of the AIDS hurricane moves into the Third World communities.) Among prisoners, 44 percent of the AIDS cases have been among blacks and 42 percent among Hispanics, while samples indicate that the HIV rates among Third World inmates may be 3 or 4 times higher than among whites.

HIV has also been a major factor in the resurgence of TB, long considered under control in the U.S. In contrast to the AIDS virus, the TB bacterium can be spread through the air. But most healthy persons' immune systems will keep the bacterium in check. Thus it is important to distinguish between latent TB *infection* and TB *disease*, which is the active illness. It is only persons sick with TB disease in their lungs who can transmit the germs to others. HIV and weakened immune systems change the normal proportion of latent to active TB. Persons without HIV who get infected with TB have about a 5-10 percent *lifetime* risk of progressing to active TB disease; for persons with

HIV there's an estimated 8 percent risk *each year* of developing active TB disease, absent preventive therapy. In addition to HIV, growing homelessness, drug use, poverty, and cutbacks in public health are all contributing to the rise of TB. From 1985-92 there were 52,000 U.S. cases of TB disease *in excess* of what was projected based on the 1984 rate. In addition, inadequate follow-

through on treatments has led to the emergence of MDR-TB. Not only are these strains much harder to treat but they are also more virulent, with much greater rates of latent infection turning into active disease and with a much higher death rate.

Prisons and jails, with their crowded conditions, high rates of HIV, and low level of health education are bound to be prime breeding grounds for TB. In 1984-5, before the current upsurge, the TB disease rate among inmates was 3 times the national average. The problem is most glaring in NYS prisons, where the incidence of TB disease has gone from 15 cases/100,000 persons in the late 1970s to 189/100,000 in 1992. In terms of latent TB infection, a 1990 DOCS mass screening showed a 27 percent positive rate. This figure is an understatement because persons with weakened immune systems will often show false negatives on this immune response test.

While the NIJ/CDC studies is the best source for the scope of the problems, their evaluation of responses and policies are built on a very shaky foundation: the self-reporting of the authorities involved. As the authors casually admit in at least the volume on TB, "Therefore, the data presented here represent the responses received from the correctional systems taken at face value. We can neither guarantee the accuracy of this information nor state for certain that all policies are actually being implemented as promulgated." Unfortunately the authors abdicate all responsibility for developing a more critical analysis. It is notable that while their "Acknowledgments" thank specific correctional officials for reviewing drafts of these reports, there is no mention of any prisoner with AIDS being asked to do so. And there is only a perfunctory reference to hearings and reports that include prisoner voices, which in fact present a reality in the field that is strikingly different from the rosier official pronouncements.

Living in prison, I could only shake my head in amazement as I read such gems as: 1) TB education, including instructor-led sessions, is mandatory for all inmates in NYS, 2) the guards do not have access to medical files in NYS DOCS, and 3) 75 percent of all state and federal systems provide individual, face-to-face post-HIV-test counseling sessions averaging 21 to 45 minutes. And many of the statistics offered are just plain meaningless. For example, knowing the percent of inmates who received at least one hour of AIDS education tells us absolutely nothing about AIDS prevention. In fact most such sessions are in language the prisoners don't understand from staff that they don't trust with absolutely no practical follow-up work — a format that is lovely for bureaucratic reports but that has zero real impact on stopping AIDS.

Beyond the inexcusably naive stance toward official responses, the authors often fail to make meaningful correlations of the data they have. For example, they report what percent of systems use each of the various alternative medications for preventing pneumocystis carinii pneumonia (PCP), but never say whether there is any system that doesn't provide any of these protections against PCP, the leading killer of persons with HIV. Or, they tell us that 63 percent of state and federal systems follow the CDC guideline of at least nine months of TB disease treatment for HIV infected patients, but never say who are the 37 percent who don't comply. It would be important to know whether they are systems with high incidence of such infections.

The AIDS report does provide a good listing of the major areas of concern and related policy issues: segregation or mainstreaming of prisoners with HIV, measures to prevent transmission, mandatory or voluntary testing, pre- and post-test counseling and confidentiality, compassionate release, and current legal cases.

Medical care is the arena where many inmate persons with AIDS (PWAs) feel the most bitter frustration. Here, 1992 *Update* allows for some tepid criticisms: "Many

observers consider medical care for inmates in general, and HIV-infected inmates in particular, to be totally inadequate." And there is at least a reference to the courageous hunger strike by HIV inmates to expose the squalid medical conditions at California's Vacaville. But this study gives no sense of the hundreds and probably thousands of scenes of real suffering of real human beings: the prisoner, for example, who complained of classic AIDS symptoms but was not seen by a physician for two years; the PWAs in isolation cells, lying unattended in their own feces and vomit; those at risk for deadly PCP having the life-saving preventive medication inexplicably taken from them. Without a sense of the depth and intensity of medical problems, the policy discussion is bound to be superficial. 1992 *Update* fails to examine a key indication of care: any difference in survival time for prisoner PWAs compared to PWAs in the street. The technical discussion misses the pivotal importance of medicines that prevent PCP. On prevention, they fail to provide a crucial update and alert that the 10% bleach solution has now been proven ineffective for cleaning needles and syringes.

Corrections systems' response to TB in the 1990s has not been quite as lethargic as their response to AIDS in the 1980s. (Airborne TB is much more of a threat to staff.) But here too there are very dangerous gaps and problems. For example, the NIJ/CDC survey shows that only 40% of the state and federal systems follow the CDC recommendation that *all* potentially contagious TB patients be isolated. (This book, unfortunately doesn't discuss the problem of just what a horror isolation in prison can be.) The NIJ/CDC study does provide an intelligent look at some of the obstacles to containing TB in correctional facilities. A central concern is screening prisoners to find, isolate and treat all those with active TB disease. The main tool to find exposure to the bacterium is an immune response test. Therefore, many persons with HIV and compromised immune systems will show false negatives — and these are precisely the people most likely to convert from latent to active/contagious TB, and to do so rapidly.

Tuberculosis provides a series of valuable CDC policy recommendations in response to these problems, including checking for anergy (the inability to respond to the TB test) and supplemental use of such measures as X-rays, screening for clinical symptoms, and sputum tests. But the authors' view from the administrative clouds misses the real problems on the ground for implementing such policies. The suggested screenings for symptoms have to be frequent and comprehensive. But many prison medical departments already feel understaffed and much of the personnel either don't know or don't care about which questions to ask. The other side of this nonfunctional equation is that many prisoners — sensitive to the history of medical experimentation and abuse — avoid being treated by medical staff if at all possible and therefore will not report symptoms such as coughs and night sweats. How many staff would care that an inmate had a cough for two weeks straight — a CDC sign for danger of contagious TB — and how many inmates would go to sick call to report it? In short, screening measures won't be nearly adequate without radical changes in both staff's and prisoners' awareness and attitudes.

Even in the best of circumstances, there is no way to be instantly on top of every conversion to active TB, and, as we have seen, prisons are far from the best of circumstances. This report mentions several times the importance of adequate ventilation (to dilute the presence of TB bacteria), but their narrow focus on medical interventions and their lack of rigorous analysis lead to their failure to focus and spotlight the necessary conclusion: since screening and isolation will in practice be far from perfect, adequate ventilation and related environmental measures are absolutely crucial as a front-line defense against contagion.

While HIV is much more difficult to transmit, NIJ/CDC are much too compla-

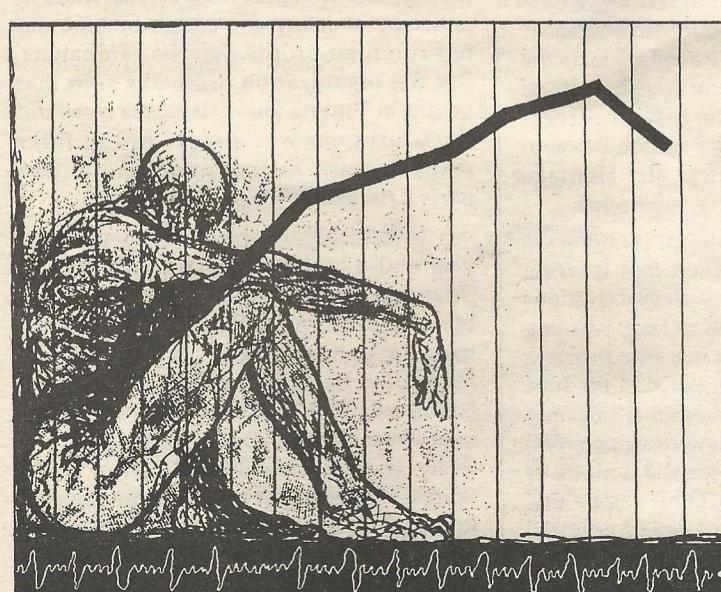
1992 Update

HIV/AIDS in Correctional Facilities

By Theodore Hammett, Lynne Harrold, Michael Gross, and Joel Epstein. 91pp. 1994. Washington and Atlanta: National Institute of Justice and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Free.

Tuberculosis in Correctional Facilities

By Theodore Hammett and Lynne Harrold. 56 pp. 1994. Washington and Atlanta: National Institute of Justice and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Free.



cent about its continued spread in correctional settings. The authors do allow that, although proscribed, sex and drugs do go on in prison and can be more dangerous since condoms are scarce and hard-to-come-by needles may be widely shared. Shamefully, though, there have been almost no rigorous studies on transmission. 1992 *Update* cites one, in the state of Illinois, showing a seropositive conversion rate of 0.3 percent per year. Even if we accept this rate (which seems very low given the abundance of high-risk practices in prisons) as indicative nationwide, 0.3 percent of the approximately 1.2 million persons incarcerated in the U.S. today amounts to 3,600 new HIV infections a year, persons who can in turn infect others. This number is intolerable and entails a threat to human life that should not be lightly dismissed.

1992 *Update* is on point in how the correctional setting offers an unique opportunity. Inmates are literally "a captive audience" who, unlike drug users in the street, can be readily gathered together for work on prevention, health care, substance abuse treatment, and education — education that they could eventually bring back to their home communities. The authors give a nod to the value of peer education (trained prisoners educating prisoners):

Peer educators speak the same language as their audience and are available to answer questions and provide support 24 hours a day. They can develop a degree of trust and credibility with the inmates that outsiders may never achieve. Peer educators may also have high levels of awareness regarding risky activities occurring in the facility and be able to respond to them with accurate and clear information. Inmates can discuss their concerns about prohibited activities with peer educators without fear

of reprisal or disclosure.

(In fact, numerous studies now have found peer education to be the only highly effective approach to prevention in such communities.) The book also provides a quick sketch of the first successful prisoner peer program in the country — ACE (AIDS Counseling and Education) by the women at NYS's Bedford Hills and of the strong programs set up by Sara Dubik-Unruh in Massachusetts.

There is a wealth of information — some useful, some misleading — in these two volumes. But there is an unhealthy reticence about some urgent points that need to be shouted from the rooftops and into the halls of power: The HIV and TB disasters will not be contained without a fundamental understanding that 1) prisoners, too, are human beings, 2) public health must be a top national priority, and 3) in these epidemics, as with many other social problems, the most effective response is grassroots education and self-organization of the affected communities themselves. ∞

By David Gilbert, (Aug./94)
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List of Abbreviations

ACE - AIDS Counseling and Education
AIDS - acquired immune deficiency syndrome
CDC - Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
DOCS - Department of Correctional Services
HIV - human immunodeficiency virus
MDR - TB-multidrug-resistant tuberculosis
NIJ - National Institute of Justice
NYS - New York State
PCP - pneumocystis carinii pneumonia
PWAs - persons with AIDS
TB - tuberculosis

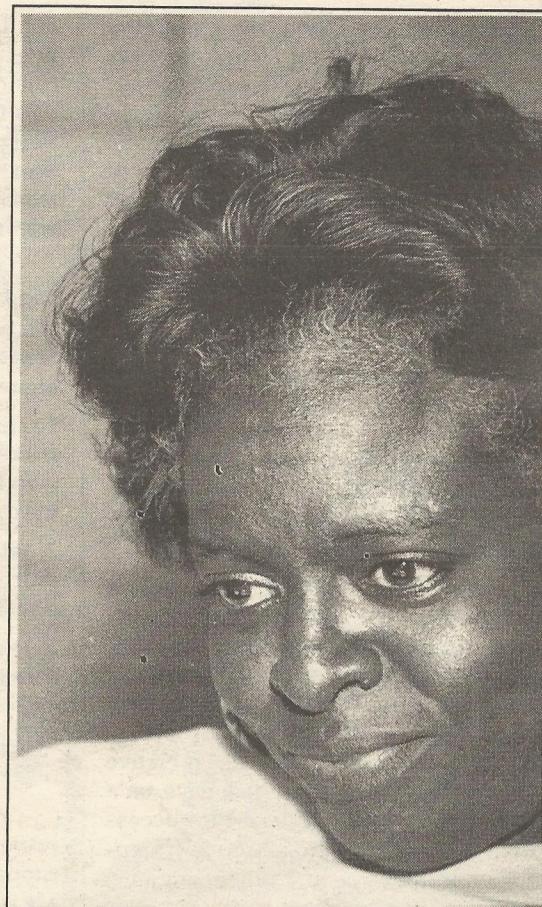
This article originally appeared in *Downtown*.

Joann Walker — A fighter and a legend in her time

Joann Walker was instrumental in focusing nationwide attention on the situation inside the largest women's prison in the US, the Central California Women's Facility (CCWF) located in Chowchilla. Through her efforts and those of other courageous women, the outside support group, Coalition to Support Women Prisoners at Chowchilla, was formed.

Joann was a tireless fighter, always busy advocating for other prisoners. She herself became ill in April, and it took over three weeks for the medical staff to respond to her cellmates' numerous appeals for medical care. Walker was finally sent to an outside hospital and diagnosed with fungal meningitis that had spread throughout her system. Not wanting a martyr on their hands, the CDoC allowed her compassionate release on May 9/94.

Walker spent two painful months in her family's care, never recovering enough to enjoy her final days. On July 13/94, Walker died. The women inside and supporters outside still acutely feel the loss of this dynamic and fearless advocate for prisoners with HIV and AIDS. But her fighting spirit lives on.



JUDI PARKS

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(415) 641-4156 or (510) 530-6214.

Survival In Prison; Facts about HIV/AIDS

There are a lot of things harmful and wrong about prisons. So the many complaints about them are valid. We must also consider however, what can be accomplished while in prison, and perhaps even take some responsibility for the environment inside and what prisoners do there.

It is time to stop hoping for HIV/AIDS education in the prisons and to put some of that effort into doing some of the educating ourselves. We have the right to protect ourselves, to feel safe and receive proper medical care and just maybe in our educating each other, penal staff might learn something too.

There are all sorts of stories about HIV/AIDS. Some people still think it is a gay disease and believe it could never happen to them. Others think that as long as they don't use needles, they are safe. In fact, it can be picked up at conjugal visits, from shooting up and tattooing. No one can expect you to give up doing these things, but they can be done a lot safer.

In Canadian federal prisons, and some of the provincial ones, there are now condoms made available on an anonymous basis. That means that there is no reason why you cannot practice safe sex. HIV/AIDS can be passed on through oral, anal and vaginal sex, so if you are engaging in any of these, use a condom. If condoms are not available, perhaps you can get your hands on a surgical glove and use one of the fingers as a make-shift condom. Otherwise, there are a variety of stimulating sexual activities which will not cause any risk, such as fantasy, massaging, masturbation, mutual masturbation, phone sex, and others.

It's a good idea to think about whether you need to get a HIV test. If you had been having sex with many different partners and/or shooting up drugs, you should ask

for a test. Ideally, other prisoners will know if there is a group of prisoners offering peer health counselling and education in the facility you are in. Ask the nurse if you have to. What you are looking for is a method of testing in which your confidentiality will be maintained. Perhaps you might ask institutional health care services to see an independent doctor from the local community. Your priority is to get the test so that you can prevent spreading the disease and to keep the results as confidential as possible if you do test positive.

Ask about emotional and psychological support before and after your test results and get answers to all your questions. Praise be that you test negative. But it doesn't mean the end of the world if you test positive for HIV. In fact, it is better to know than not. With treatment and proper care, you can lead a relatively normal life and there are people to help you in any way you need it.

If you test positive, some changes in lifestyle will help you not get worse. You will need a good diet, stay away from others when they have colds and the flu and maybe take some drugs from the doctor to help things. A good frame of mind and physical exercise are some of the kinds of things to think about and change.

This writer is unaware of any prisons where there is needle-exchange, if there are any. That means that any works you have and are using need to be thoroughly cleaned before being shared with others. The HIV can stay alive in blood inside a fit, and will infect anyone using it without rinsing it with bleach and/or cold water, several times between uses. Ideally you should take the time to rinse it out three times.

Chances are, being stabbed with a syringe with contaminated blood inside it will not pass HIV/AIDS. And the virus will

die after a short time in a bottle of tattoo ink. There are some risks that we cannot take though. So we have to practise safe sex, clean needles with bleach after each use and practise good personal cleanliness and health at all times.

There are a lot of prisons where authorities are unable to grasp how to deal with the issues of HIV/AIDS. If you find yourself in such a prison, and you are being discriminated against and segregated because you are HIV+ and others are afraid of you, it is best to get to another prison where you can get some support and proper care. Many communities where there are prisons have a group of concerned citizens who will help you in your time of need. Find out where one of these prisons is in your locale, and put in a transfer. Get a lawyer to help you with this, as it is not necessary to reveal that you are ill, and you do not want the administration to know about your HIV status. A lawyer can help cut the red tape. Remember, just because you are in prison does not mean that you do not have the right to receive the proper and effective health care available to anyone.

The issue surrounding prisons and HIV/AIDS are currently caught up in a lot of politics. As a result, people are getting ill and dying for no reason other than apathy and neglect. Instead of getting involved in the politics of it, you may be better off doing education, counselling and support work among each other. If you join a peer health group, learn everything there is to know about HIV/AIDS and spread the word. If there is no peer program for education

and counselling, start one. And once you have done some organizing to solidify the group, perhaps then you might wish to get involved in the politics. It is easier to trust and count on each other and in the chaotic environment of prisons, we need to get together and survive as a whole, instead of being divided because of differences of opinion and what one may know as fact and another believes. ∞

A useful source for information (in Canada) and support concerning HIV/AIDS in prisons is:
PASAN (Prisoners with AIDS Support Action Network)
#327 - 517 College St.
Toronto Ont M6G 4A2

There are also some publications that are specific to prisoners with HIV/AIDS, and they are free if you are on the inside. Contact PASAN and/or:

The National Prison Project
1875 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Suite 410
Washington D.C. 20009.

by Zoltan Lugosi



The Iron House Drum — fighting for Native religious freedom in American prisons

The Iron House Drum was a quarterly newsletter published by the Native American Prisoners' Rehabilitation Research Project (NAPRRP) from 1988 to 1993. Following its last publication in early 1993, its editor and founder, Little Rock Reed, with one month remaining on parole in Ohio, was targeted by the Ohio Adult Parole Authority for political imprisonment and/or assassination for his refusal to stop speaking and writing about government officials' crimes against Indian prisoners (refer to the last several issues of PNS). Forced underground, Little Rock has continued to fight for the rights of Indian and other prisoners. The Iron House Drum will now be a regular section of PNS. Native prisoners are encouraged to write to Little Rock, in care of PNS, concerning their struggles, and regarding any legal questions they may have concerning their religious and cultural rights.

In July 1994, Senator Daniel Inouye introduced Senate Bill 2269 "to protect American Indian cultures and guarantee the free exercise of religion by Native Americans." Title III of the bill is entitled "Prisoners' Rights," and it states that "Native American prisoners who practice a Native American culture or religion shall have, on a regular basis comparable to that access afforded prisoners who practice Judeo-Christian religions or any other religions, access to .. Native American traditional leaders...items and materials (including cultural or religious diets) utilized in cultural or religious facilities [i.e. sweat lodges and tipis].

This bill also implies that Indian prisoners who participate in cultural programs such as the Red Road to Recovery, UNAP and P.I.P.E.S., shall be given the same benefits and recognition as non-Indian prisoners are given by prison and parole officials for their participation in programs such as AA and NA.

Senate Bill 2269 is merely a bill. It will not become law until it is passed by Congress. It will not be passed by Congress until a significant number of Indian people and their supporters contact the Congresspersons in their areas and urge them to support this

bill. Letters to Congresspersons are imperative, as there is great opposition to this bill (the opposition has defeated several other bills that would amend the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978). In fact, Senator Reed (of Nevada) has proposed an amendment to the bill which will do away with the prisoners' rights section altogether.

According to a telephone conversation I had last week with Pat Gordon, Counsel for the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Senator Reed has argued (and continues to argue) before Senate members that:

1. This legislation will result in a flood of frivolous litigation initiated by prisoners who have nothing better to do than to keep the courts busy.
2. Whether or not to allow certain religious practices by prisoners should be left to the discretion of prison officials.
3. The cultural/spiritual programming mandated by this legislation would be too expensive for prison officials to implement.

Prisoners should not be given the same religious protections as free citizens.

What follows are my own comments in response to Senator Reed's arguments in support of excluding prisoners from this bill. My comments are based on information contained in *The American Indian in the White Man's Prisons: A Story Of Genocide*, which was reviewed in the last edition of PNS, and which is the result of a 7-year extensive study and investigation of the way in which Native prisoners are discriminated against in federal and state prisons in the United States.

"Frivolous" Litigation

With respect to Senator Reed's contention that this legislation would result in a flood of frivolous litigation, I think I can reasonably assert that this legislation, contrary to Senator Reed's contention, would significantly reduce litigation in this country. This book contains a comprehensive review of published federal decisions (and numerous unpublished decisions) in Indian prisoners'

religious deprivation lawsuits in this country from the mid-1970s to the spring of 1993. There do not appear to be any such actions that were dismissed by the courts as frivolous. In fact, a review of the decisions nationwide indicates that, without exception, the prisoner plaintiffs have merely sought to practice their sincerely held religious beliefs in a manner consistent with the Native spiritual/cultural programming that has been available to Indian prisoners in some states for decades. Sincerely held religious beliefs, and the effects of prison officials' arbitrary suppression of those beliefs, is not a frivolous matter.

Senator Reed's worries could be put to rest by placing a provision in this bill which would require prisoner litigants to foot the bill for all costs of lawsuits *found by the courts to be frivolous*; this would discourage prisoners from invoking this Act in litigation where the prisoners' claims are not meritorious (some federal district courts already have local rules in effect which require prisoners to pay all costs of litigation they initiate which is found to be frivolous).

Prison officials' discretion

With respect to Senator Reed's contention that the decision to allow or deny religious practices by prisoners should be left to prison officials' discretion, it appears that Senator Reed's attitude is consistent with that of most of the courts that have decided Indian prisoners' religious cases in this country — which is what has cost the taxpayers millions of dollars in such litigation over the years. In the comprehensive study of decisions referred to above, every prison official defendant has had one thing in common: prison officials have never been able to substantiate (nor have very many courts required them to substantiate) their bald assertions that Indian religious practices would cause security problems.

In fact, the results of a survey conducted by the Native American Prisoners' Rehabilitation Research Project (NAPRRP) last year (a copy of which is contained in our book) indicate that the religious practices that would be required under Senator Inouye's bill have been permitted in all the prisons in Canada for 22 years, and have been permitted in most federal prisons and at least 22 state prison systems over the past couple of decades. These religious practices include the wearing of long hair by male prisoners, the use of sweat lodges, headbands, medicine bags, sage, cedar, sweet grass, tobacco ties, drums, beading materials, sacred pipes, gourds, eagle feathers, and talking circles.

Prison officials who have allowed these practices have indicated (in the above-referenced survey) that these practices and activities have never caused any problems beyond those associated with any other activity allowed in the prisons, including Christian religious activities and recreational activities. These prison officials have indicated further that the religious practices provided for the Native American prisoners serve a very positive rehabilitative function. This has been confirmed by a study contained in our book which indicates that Native spiritual/cultural programs reduce recidivism rates among the Indian population, reduce misconduct by Native prisoners, and reduce alcohol and drug problems among the Indian population (nearly 100% of Indian prisoners were convicted for drug- or alcohol-related crimes). Indeed, the rehabilitative potential within Senator Inouye's bill would be a very constructive response, where the Indian population is concerned to the current prison overcrowding crisis since Indians have the greatest incarceration rate of all the races in this country.

An example of the effect of leaving these matters to prison officials' discretion is that all prison officials who refuse to allow prisoners to wear long hair in accordance

with sincerely held religious beliefs do so on the basis of their bald assertions that contraband can be hidden in prisoners' long hair. However, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the entire Canadian prison system and 70% of the state prison systems allow male prisoners (and all female prisoners) to wear long hair. According to the responses provided by prison officials in all of these prison systems, there is not one documented instance in which contraband has ever been found in a prisoner's long hair. Not one. Yet under current law, the courts are leaving the wearing of long hair to prison officials' decisions where every one of the prison officials' discretion to deny the wearing of long hair is based on unsubstantiated fears that contraband will be hidden in prisoners' hair.

Prison officials' discretion should be eliminated where constitutional rights are concerned. Prison officials should be held accountable for their actions, and they should be knowledgeable about the subject matter of the religious practices they deny. They have already cost the taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars with their arbitrary decisions based on their unsubstantiated fears. Fears which are contradicted by the track record established within all the prison systems that have allowed Indians to practice their religious beliefs for the past two decades.

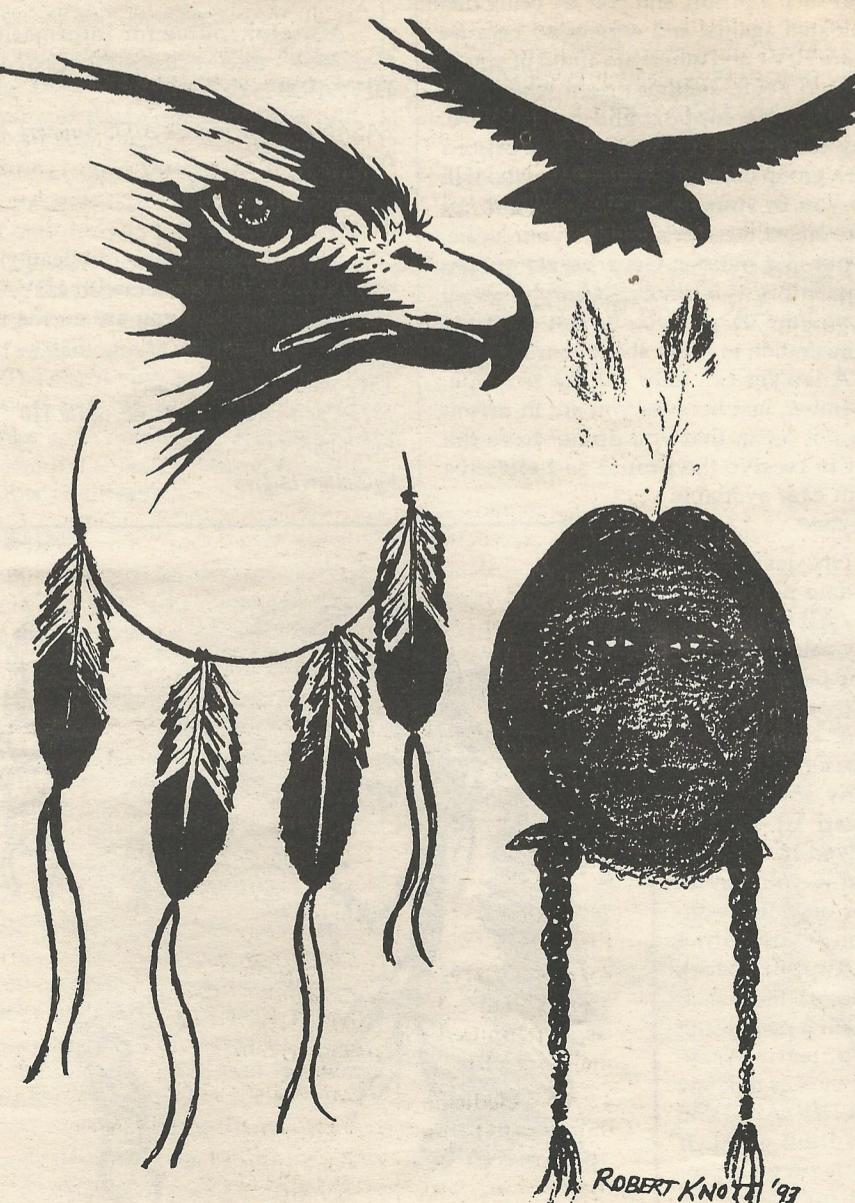
Implementation Costs

As to Senator Reed's contention that implementation of the Act would be too expensive for prison officials, again, we would turn to the experience of those prison systems that have already allowed these practices to take place within their prison settings. The testimony of George E. Sullivan, the warden of the New Mexico State Penitentiary and a 30-year veteran of the prison system in Oregon, expresses the experience of most of the prison officials in this country who are familiar with adequate Native American spiritual and cultural programming. He has stated that "about twenty years ago in Oregon we allowed our first sweat lodge and it was the most valuable, least expensive problem for administrators of anything we do. There is no problem and everything is to be gained..."

The implementation of Native spiritual and cultural programming is not what would be expensive, as our studies have indicated that Indians and their supporters are more than willing to be self-supportive in the implementation and maintenance of their spiritual/cultural programs, although we reasonably assert that Indian spiritual leaders should be compensated for travel expenses to prisons in the same manner Christian spiritual advisors are compensated. (Hundreds of millions of dollars are spent by prison administrations every year for Christian, Muslim and Jewish religious services in the prisons — why should Indians be excluded from these money banks and denied compensation for the travel expenses of traditional elders and spiritual leaders?) Rather, the litigation resulting from the denial of religious freedom for Indian prisoners is what is expensive, particularly in cases such as those that have arisen in states such as Ohio, where our federal tax dollars (as is well documented in our book) have been used not only to defend prison officials who have historically and continually refused to allow any Native spiritual leaders to enter the prisons to pray with the Indian prisoners, but to have prison officials and their attorneys pay "expert" fees to fraudulent Indian chiefs of non-existent Indian tribes to testify against Indian prisoners. These clearly illegal practices will continue so long as we leave constitutional decisions to the discretion of prison officials.

Equal religious protection

As to Senator Reed's contention that



prisoners should not be entitled to the same rights as non-prisoners, this legislation does not seek such equality. It will merely mandate that Indian prisoners be given the same religious freedom as Christian prisoners have always enjoyed in this country.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the standard of review set forth in S. 2269 is the only remedy Native prisoners can rely on for protection of their rights which Christian prisoners across the country take for granted. Prison officials, contrary to the assertions of Senator Reed, must be held accountable for their actions. The courts simply will not hold them accountable under any existing law.

What you can do

I want to explain how and why prisoners and their supporters can make a difference as to whether or not the amendments to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act will include prisoners' rights. First of all, Deborah Garlin, a human rights attorney and president of the Center for Advocacy of Human Rights (CAHR), is a contributing author and copy editor of *The American Indian in the White Man's Prisons: A Story Of Genocide*. Uncompromising Books, a division of the CAHR, is the publisher of this book. This book has already been reviewed in PNS, so it is not my desire to promote the book here, but to convey to PNS readers how important this book is with respect to getting this legislation passed to protect Indian prisoner's rights (which is precisely why this book project was initiated in the mid-1980s). I simply believe that Senator Reed's efforts will be victorious if representatives of this book are not afforded an opportunity to testify before Congress. Deborah Garlin is a prime candidate to serve as such a witness, as are the board members of the CAHR, who include the following people:

1. Dr. Hal Pepinsky, criminology professor at Indiana University and chair of the Critical Criminology Division of the American Society of Criminology. Hal was the chief organizer of the Fifth International Conference on Prison Abolition (which included a huge delegation of Indian activists and spiritual leaders), and has long supported Indian prisoners' rights as well as all prisoners' rights. (He is using our book as a required text in some of the courses he teaches).

2. Dr. Cynthia Kasee (Cherokee), an adjunct professor of Indian Studies and Women's Studies at several Florida universities. She is currently writing a review of *The American Indian in the White Man's Prisons: A Story of Genocide* and wants to encourage this book's use as a text in Indian Studies courses so that prisoners will be represented.

3. Dr. Lance Kramer, former provost of Ohio State University and current regional director of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee. He has stated of this book, it is "perhaps our best formal index to the circumstances of American Indians in the prisons in this country... The testimony of both men and women (prisoners, former prisoners and spiritual leaders across the country) as well as the correspondence of chaplains and prison officials, is effectively employed [in this book] to detail how the historic 'unholy alliance' between the government and the Christian church finds expression in contemporary efforts to suppress and destroy Indian spirituality."

On August 23, Deborah Garlin wrote a letter to Pat Gordon, counsel for the Committee on Indian Affairs, in which she described the importance of this book in efforts to get legislation passed that will protect Indian prisoners' rights in federal and state prisons. Drawing from information contained in the book, she refuted, point by point, the arguments put forth by Senator Reed in his efforts to get the prisoners' rights section of S2269 pushed out of the bill. She pointed out that she had sent a copy of the book to Senator Inouye in February, and asked that it be made a part of the Congressional Record, but that the Senator

failed to acknowledge receipt of the book or follow-up correspondence from her. In closing, Ms. Garlin wrote:

"If I can be of any further assistance with respect to the prisoners' rights section of any bill which amends the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978, please don't hesitate to contact me. Additionally, our board members (Hal Pepinsky, Cynthia Kasee and Lance Kramer) would be glad to provide any assistance they can to achieve religious freedom rights for Indians prisoners, and each of these board members is experienced in the subject matter and has credentials that no opponent of the AIRFA amendments can deny. How can we assist?"

The best thing Indian prisoners and their supporters can do right now to support this prisoners' rights legislation is to write two kinds of letters. The first kind of letter should be sent to the Congressional Representatives in your state (their names and addresses can be obtained in your libraries). The following is a letter Deborah Garlin wrote to the federal representatives in her state, and it can serve as a model for your letters:

Dear _____:

Native Americans have historically been denied the right to practice their traditional religious beliefs in this country, and no existing law, including the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (P.L. 103-141), is capable of providing First Amendment protections for Native Americans, including prisoners, as is clearly demonstrated by federal and state judicial decisions across this country.

This situation can change with the passage of S2269, a bill recently introduced by Senator Daniel Inouye. I therefore urge you to support Senator Inouye's bill so that this country's original inhabitants may receive religious protections that other American's

have historically taken for granted.

Your support of this crucial legislation is appreciated.

Sincerely,

The second kind of letter that can be very helpful would be a letter to Pat Gordon. In your letters to Ms. Gordon, you should point out that you are familiar with the letter of August 23, 1994, that was sent to her by Deborah Garlin, President, Center for Advocacy of Human Rights, and that you feel that unless representatives of the Center for Advocacy of Human Rights are provided an opportunity to testify in future hearings on S2269 or any future bill which corresponds with S2269, Native American prisoners will not receive adequate representation before Congress, as the Center has published *The American Indian in the White Man's Prisons: A Story Of Genocide*, which contains information no other organization, law firm or individual has available regarding the need for legislation that will protect the cultural and religious rights of American Indian prisoners. Your letters should encourage Ms. Gordon to make every effort to see that the Center be able to actively participate in representing prisoners for the purpose of such legislation. Be polite to Ms. Gordon. She is on our side. Also, copies of all your correspondence with Pat Gordon and Congressional Representatives should be sent to the Center at the below address so that the Center can monitor your efforts to support

this legislation. ~

Thank you very much for your support. Pat Gordon's and the Center's addresses are as follows:

Center for Advocacy of Human Rights
P.O. Box 880
Ranchos de Taos, NM 87557-0880
Pat Gordon, Counsel
Committee on Indian Affairs
838 Hart
Washington, D.C. 20510

The American Indian in the White Man's Prisons: A Story of Genocide by Little Rock Reed is available from:
Uncompromising Books
216M Paseo Del Pueblo Norte, Ste 374
Taos, NM 87571-5902



Restrictions in Arizona prisons

I am currently incarcerated here in the Arizona State Prison system, and I am with a group called the Native American Brotherhood (NAB). I believe that like all Indian prisoners we are having trouble with our religious items. I have one of the Eagle Permits that the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service gives out to Indians who sign and send their applications to the agencies. There are other Indians here in the Arizona prison system who also carry these permits. According to the Federal Law Part 22, Title 50 "Code of Federal Regulations", we Indians are allowed to

have eagle feathers for use in our religion and no one can take them from us. But now our Brotherhood faces a problem with certain administrators here in the prison. Chaplain Fankhauser who told me that I couldn't have my Eagle as did Senior Complex Chaplain Ludlow. Now we at the NAB are only allowed one feather. Should we receive more than one feather, the other feathers will be considered contraband.

In our Department of Corrections Adult Institutional Division Management Procedure: No. 301.17-c under 4.2.4 Native American: it states the following:

4.2.4.1 - Headband - leather, beaded or cloth (cotton, wool, silk or rayon.) Up to 4 kerchiefs of black, red, yellow or white color permitted. Headbands may be worn at any time.

4.2.4.2 - Shell (one permitted).

4.2.4.3 - Sage (small amounts permitted) 1oz.

4.2.4.4 - Sacred stones (up to seven permitted - marble size).

4.2.4.5 - Medicine bag (must be opened for inspection, but

should not be touched by other than owner).

4.2.4.6 - Animal parts (wing, talon, small bone).

4.2.4.7 - Eagle feather (touched only by owner).

4.2.4.8 - Other (Only with approval of the Administrator of Pastoral Activities).

This policy was passed by J.C. Keeney, Assistant Director Adult Institutions. Under the policy 301.17-c 4.24.7 Eagle Feather, it is a false statement. The officers still handle our feathers. According to a "new policy", a diversion I believe, it now states that the officers, both male and female, have the right to do whatever they want to our NAB religious items. The officers can come into our Sweat Lodge and stop our Ceremony and run us back into our cells no matter what the circumstances. We have our Lodge meetings during the weekends. This is only one of the problems that our NAB is having with the Department of Corrections. My other concern was that the officers lost my Eagle whistle, four Eagle feathers and 3 Macaw feathers which I use during certain ceremonies. All these items that the D.O.C. lost, I use. Now either some officer has them or something "else" happened! ~

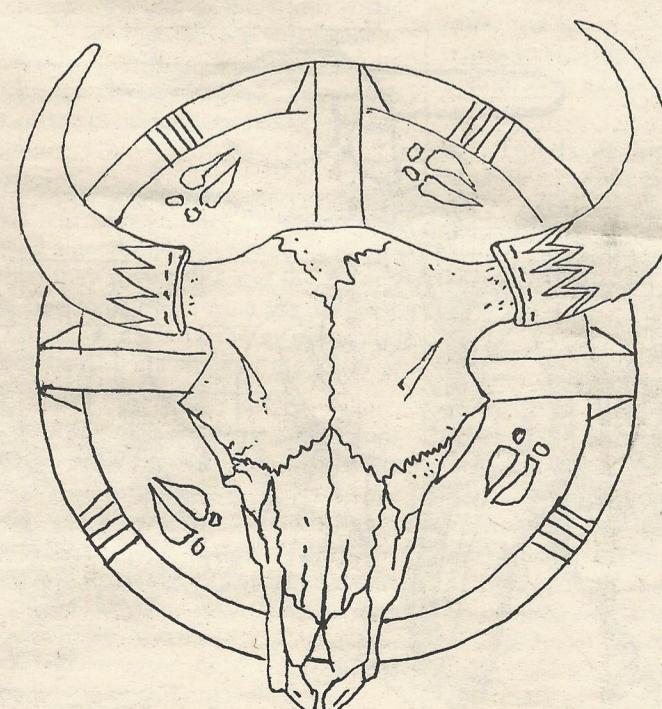
Anyone reading this and feel that they might want to write in support of our Native American Brotherhood, can write:

J.C. Keeney
AZ Department of Corrections
1601 West Jefferson
Phoenix, AZ 85007

and/or

Chaplain Ludlow
Arizona State Prison
10,000 S. Wilmot Rd
Tucson, AZ 85777

If you'd like to drop me a line, write:
Frank Rolling Thunder #39440
10,000 S. Wilmot Rd
Tucson, AZ 85777



If not us, who? If not now, when?

Part 2

The first part of this article ran in the last issue of PNS.

Point 3: Organizing

Recently, I read Comrade Nat Turner's critique on the lack of organized activities at Pendleton (issue #7, *Human Rights Held Hostage (HRHH)*), despite the abundance of politically conscious 'rades on the set, and his comments have thrown light on a serious contradiction in our ranks — namely, the lack of organizing actually being conducted in these slave kamps by those of us who profess to be about revolutionary change.

The first dimension of this contradiction has been touched in the last issue (point one) which is the "revolutionary elitism" that has been allowed to grow unchecked (due to liberalism!) down through the years. The second dimension to this dilemma lies in the fact that more often than not, when we try to conceptualize organizing in concrete terms, unfortunately, we draw a blank. The actual methodology of organizing (within the context of the prison environment in particular!) is actually for the most part unknown. The conditions in these kamps in the last decade or so have not been such that would allow for the growth and development of broad-based "mass" organizational endeavor of resistance. However, the extensive repression of the last few years (both within Indiana and across the empire) which prisoners have experienced in these slave kamps has created suitable conditions that will allow us to begin building for the creation of a broad-based "mass" movements that will transcend the subjective contradictions which have prevented this in the past (i.e. the vice-ism, regionalism, racism, passive-ism, etc.). While these subjective conditions are still present in our midst, the repression has brought the primary contradiction of our dilemma to the fore — namely, that between slave/captive and the imperialist State, oppressed and oppressor.

Given this contradiction, with dedicated work, the subjective contradictions can be transcended and the massive energies and potentials dormant within the oppressed peoples held in these slave kamps can be identified, cultivated, and organized so as to be unified and directed toward confronting our primary contradiction and all those minor ones that stem from it. Bearing in mind that prisons are part of the capitalist-imperialist system and serve the role of an instrument of oppression used by the State on oppressed and colonized peoples, we must impress upon ourselves and the others that these kamps cannot be "removed" until the overthrow of the system.

Fantasies

With this in mind, we must avoid the paralysis of "elitism" ("when I get out" fantasies) as well as of the apathy of the reformist thinking ("let's make the system be more humane and please treat us nice, mr. policeman"). Instead, we must realize that the issues around which we have to organize will be prison-conditions, namely the violations of our human rights in these kamps, while at the same time using this immediate organizing as a form of mobilization that will link our struggles to the struggles in society at large, as well as create a movement out of which to develop overt/covert revolutionary capabilities that will enable us to liberate ourselves to participate more directly in these struggles. From the particular and the short-term into the general and the long-term, that is the dialectical process of our struggle-work.

So we want to build a revolutionary movement and as long as we are confined,

for the most part, in these slave kamps, they are our arena of activity, recruitment, and construction towards realizing this movement. With this in mind, let's proceed to the realities of the tasks necessary to begin its undertaking.

To organize requires that two fundamental dimensions be grasped: 1) the construction of a network, preferably covert, of dedicated, disciplined and committed cadre, in place amongst prisoners in the mainlines and on the seg units of these kamps; and 2) a "systematic process" of analyzing the objective contradictions in each locale and stimulating and organizing the potentials and energies of the people to confront and struggle to overcome these contradictions in a "mass" way.

Presently we have cadre and contacts existing with these kamps in Indiana — and we are developing the same in a broader way empire-wide. We have an outside support network and are producing a regular publication — *Human Rights Held Hostage (HRHH)*. We need to network; to begin establishing links and disciplined unity amongst ourselves. This means creating/strengthening lines of communication and chains of command, subjecting the "I" to the "We", and stimulating a sense of responsibility towards each other and towards living the politics we preach by using the tool of objective criticism/self-criticism. Several months ago, a proposal (Committee For Freedom (C.F.F.) Working Documents #1 and #2) were circulated amongst cadre towards building a "party" formation that will enable us to achieve this. Those 'rades who received this, need to come together and discuss it, critique it, and begin funnelling some feedback on it ... at this stage we should not forget the principles of "N.T.K." (need to know) so as to minimize the ability of the opposition to disrupt our endeavor. Beyond these words, on this particular point, I hesitate to say more ...

Now the creation of a cadre network or party structure will allow us to channel our potentials and energies into a disciplined

formation that will provide us with the instrument necessary to sink roots into the masses. In this regard, *commitment is the key* ... talk is cheap, it's time to work!

With this network in place, our energies should be focused into the following projects:

A) *Identifying the objective contradictions in the kamps in which we're held captive:* This does not mean just looking at "what's wrong", but instead putting our fingers on the pulses of the people so as to get a concrete summation of what the people view as "wrong", as well as the input of our insights vis-a-vis what we know exists condition-wise in these kamps that violates state/federal laws along with our internationally determined Human Rights. This requires a constant dialogue and exchange among the people — each committee of our inside C.F.F. network (i.e. New Afrikan, North American, Native American, Latino, Islamic, etc.). working within its realm of focus and in coordination with each other, as set out inside the C.F.F. Working Document #2 (sec. 1, "C.F.F.'s line"). We are not talking about just going around and listening to complaints, but instead systematically identifying the basic grievances of other prisoners and using these grievances to broaden the scope and measure of the understanding of these "lumpens" — taking the issues of complaints and using them as a springboard to point out the other dimensions of oppression regarding our captivity, how these are violations of our Human Rights, and why they are being perpetrated against us ... This is a matter of tying the oppression we're experiencing daily into the socio-economic-political contradictions of society as a whole. The construction of such bridges within our consciousness should be aggressively pursued and conducted in a disciplined way (strategy sessions and regular reports should be given within the cadre cell on each set, tier, etc.). From this activity, we should produce a working document that will serve as a program for each set (and be relayed to the outside network) which will highlight each and every issue of complaint that violates our Human Rights, state or federal law. Once this document is produced, it should be updated and re-released as needed. This document can be typed and rotated back inside and should be used as the basis around which we will organize.

B) *Identification of sympathetic and progressive elements:* Through the process of

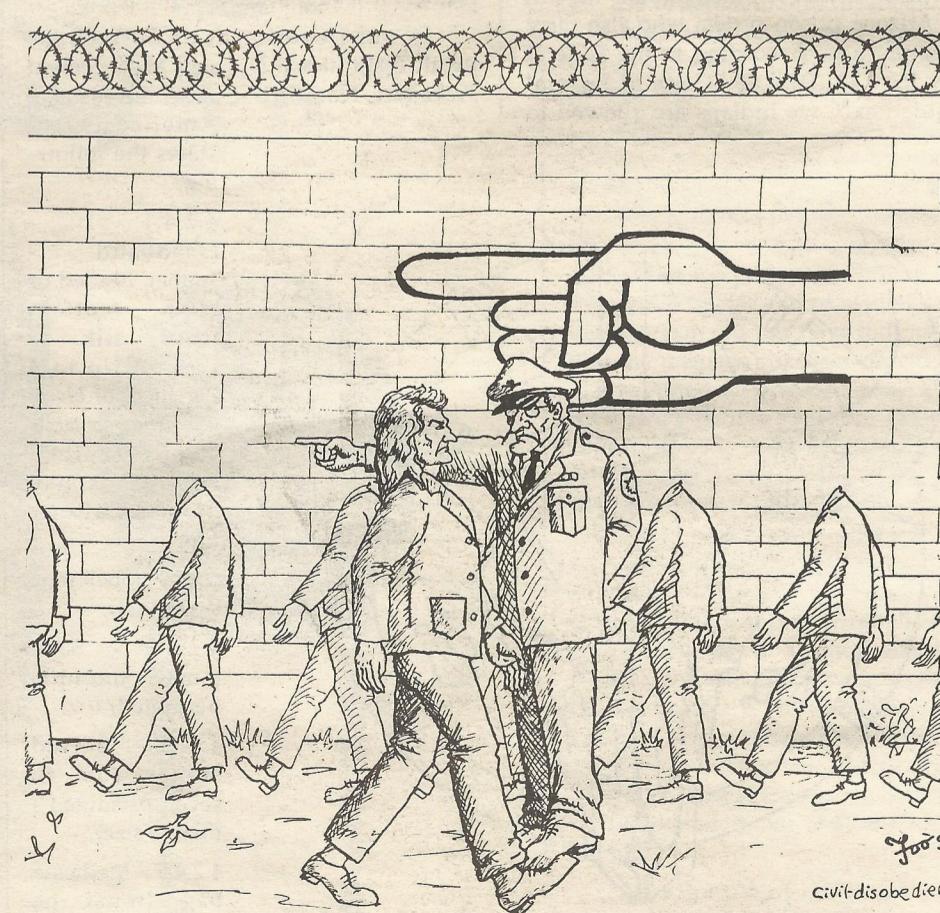
exchange with the people, we will find elements who are not only displeased with our plight, but who express a willingness to contribute to changing that plight. There are also progressive elements with varying degrees of commitment amongst the people (jailhouse lawyers, etc.). Record should be made of these persons and relayed to the C.F.F. outside network who can then, in turn, make cadre in various kamps aware of contacts vis-a-vis their respective sets by prisoners who are not yet part of C.F.F. This will enable us to "observe" and contact such people. Once these elements are identified, an active effort should be made to cultivate their awareness and understanding — to reach and teach.

C) *Study classes and political education:* We need to conduct an intensive effort towards enlightening the people! We have resources available through C.F.F. (*HRHH*, the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, the library of xeroxed material, etc.). We can get a wide array of publications absolutely free — such as *Prison News Service*, the *Black Panther News Committee*, *Crossroad*, *Workers' World*, *Revolutionary Worker*, *The Militant*, *Spark*, *Workers' Vanguard*, *New Trend*, and so on — that will enable us to have at our disposal a good source of news and views (notwithstanding the pros and cons of the ideologies expressed in these various publications). These materials should be used in a focused way towards those who have been identified as having sympathetic/progressive potentials and rebellious/militant tendencies.

We need to build a "base" of active, conscious elements from these brothers and sisters in our midst. A study collective should be formed from the same — and we should hold weekly study classes. Initially, this may only consist of a handful meeting in a discreet way at recreation or at other times (we must be creative!), or setting aside one night a week for public discussions on sets where we're locked down or confined on segregation. As part of this effort, we need to catalogue and organize the resources available to us (i.e. form our own communal library and services), dividing the responsibilities of how we use these resources (i.e. how we secure them and manage them). The primary focus of our undertaking should be to: i) impart an understanding of our Human Rights and what is "allowed" us as prisoners under state and federal laws; ii) what types of relief and remedies are available to us and how to go about securing them through grievances, lawsuits, and other forms of struggle; iii) raise the general level of political consciousness; iv) cultivate the morality and ethics such as are touched upon above (pt. two); and v) explain the methods and tactics of COINTELPRO and how these tactics are currently being employed inside and outside.

The general focus can be developed through the radicalization of each respective group engaged in work with a committee. We want to not only impart understanding and enlightenment, we also want to foster the tempering of the confused rage and riot-mentality into a steeled discipline and sense of revolutionary commitment to building for struggle that will qualitatively change our dilemma and end our exploitation and oppression inside and out. To undertake this activity requires dedication and commitment on the part of the cadre involved — long-term thinking and disciplined work and constant criticism/self-criticism so as to maintain our level of commitment and revolutionary course of action.

At the present, we no doubt have identified and are working with progressive brothers and sisters within these kamps in our respective locations, which is good; at the same time, we must heighten this activity and become more organized and systematic. As we see such brothers and sisters transforming, they should be encouraged to work within their circles and among their associates as well as with their families ... Each family that can, should be subscribing



to HRHH and those that can't should be getting it anyway!

D) Organizing "Mass" Resistance: Most prisoners gravitate towards either a spontaneous reaction to our oppressor's repressive antics or to constant complaining, but they do little or nothing in the way of concrete, collective activity that will respond effectively to such antics. We must transcend and overcome both of these! We are not dealing with a dilemma which can be overcome like some TV movie — in two hours, interrupted by a few commercials! Our work must be based on the fundamental premise that the people are power, the makers of their own destiny. From that we must devise creative short- and long-term ways and means to tap into the power of the people. The creative potentials and energies of the people must be consciously grasped by the people and directed toward confronting the contradictions of this system — but how?! Using the "program" noted in "A" above, we have our document around which to organize. Methods must be dynamic and not static — so what is offered is merely a framework from which other forms can be devised and not necessarily a "blueprint" to be put down on each set — the level of consciousness and discontent, as well as the number of cadre on each set, will determine the degree to which we can build ... We need *commitment and creativity*.

Through our base of sympathetic and progressive elements on each set, we should let it be known that we would like to do something to resolve the contradictions and resist the antics of our oppressors. It must be explained that we want to build structurally to be able to confront the dilemma through the "mass line" — as the problem is such that it is only by involving the *masses* of men and wimmin in these kamps that we can adequately deal with and overcome this dilemma. It should be suggested that we create some "committees" — each that will enable us to centralize our particular "talents" of resistance into a specialized area of focus. For example, an "internal affairs committee" that will act as a go-

between with the opposition should this be necessary; a "public relations committee" that will organize contacting groups on the outside to convey our plight and struggle to them, as well as to collect donations of stamps and envelopes for this purpose; a "political education committee" that will take over and conduct political education etc., as well as work on general awareness project, (secretly hanging up fliers, etc.); a "legal affairs committee" that will begin to look at the issues of the program and devise ways and means to confront and secure whatever of our "rights" as can be secured through the state and federal legal system; and a "grievance committee" that will assist prisoners to file grievances and internal complaints when these activities are necessary.

Individual prisoners should be encouraged to join and participate in these committees — we should train and motivate them to approach their tasks with a disciplined responsibility to the group and the overall endeavor. The heads of these committees should meet weekly to map out and coordinate a strategy of resistance and struggle so as to begin working towards resolving the issues of the program, incorporating the input of the grassroots at every level. In highly repressive situations, these committee heads should communicate with each other via mail rotation.

Once an overall strategy is devised, these committee structures will be mobilized to begin contacting and mobilizing the prisoner populace — got a problem with this, go see so and so ... need help doing this, go see him or her, etc. etc. The campaigns around various issues can be very successful if the masses are incorporated into the struggle and minor things can be easily obtained to show results ... massive grievance filing, petitions, letter drives to outside contacts, families, organizations etc. should be initially employed by going to the people via these committees (don't like how you're being treated ... okay, what do you want to do ... go see so and so ... or here's a draft grievance, draw it up, give us

a copy, and we'll send them in on Wednesday, etc. etc.). We've all been involved in efforts to one degree or another to do this sort of thing, so we have some idea as to how it goes ... we must be dynamic and creative. Also, we must *avoid confrontations* with the enemy and conduct an aggressive critique of any reactionary tendencies that seek a confrontation.

At this stage, we must *build* and avoid opening ourselves up to repression that will disrupt our endeavor before we have established the covert/overt foundations that will allow us to weather such storms ... in fact, contingency plans should be made to deal with this eventuality. C.F.F. cadre network structures and chains of command should be on a "Need to Know" (N.T.K.) basis, although the activities of the committees will necessarily be known to some degree — yet we should stress the "N.T.K." approach in the core ranks of these committees. Each committee (i.e. its core) should meet regularly and the heads of each committee should be in constant contact; bi-monthly reports should be made and assessed with the C.F.F. cadre networks (the kamp and regional steering committees, KSCs and RSCs) — and monthly reports filed by each RSC rep. to the RSC. (See C.F.F. working document #2 for greater details on the KSCs and RSCs). We want to work with a constant dialogue up and down the line so as to be able to coordinate our activities in a broad way. As we become more organized and the structural kinks are worked out, we can begin to heighten the resistance and draw more and more of the masses into the endeavor, into our ranks, and into the struggle. We're definitely looking at a *long-term* project!

E) *Broadening our outside support base and the work of released comrades:* We need to make a concerted effort to broaden our outside base — including making inroads into the oppressed and colonized neighborhoods from which we've come. We need to cultivate contacts with grass-roots prisoner support groups across the empire and channel these contacts into the direction of our

outside network. We are terribly isolated vis-a-vis the multitude of progressive, grass-roots prisoner support structures that exist. We need to work on this in a concerted way and thus strengthen and unify the voice calling the people's attention to the Human Rights abuses going on in these slave kamps ... We also must make a concerted effort to link-up outside contacts with comrades recently released from the tombs. It is the job of our inside cadre to identify and cultivate a principled rapport and relations with those progressive elements who will soon be released from captivity. Our outside support should be made to build a relationship that will allow us to reach into our communities via these elements with *HRHH*, as well as to develop community (grass-roots) based ties that will broaden our outside base and potential capabilities.

Summing up:

What has been written above is by no means a "blueprint" — it is merely a suggested format to draw our attention to some of our overall short-comings as well as to stimulate some "strategic thinking" towards resolving these shortcomings. To stress a point raised above — we must wake up to the reality that the Revolution is here and now, so it's vital that we begin to seriously look at where we're at now and where we must go to seriously organize ourselves and prepare to confront and overcome our oppressor's designs to destroy us and prevent us from successfully contributing to our liberation from (and the destruction of!) this imperialist world-order of Amerika. Let's build to win ... Forward! ~

"Once you become conscious, there is no such thing as becoming unconscious, thereafter, it is simply an act of treachery." — F.G. Love

In struggle
Abd al Bari
Box 1638
Elyria, OH 44035

Since this was written, Bro Abd al has been released from the Indiana Prison system.

Looking at life from Death Row

I have been kicked backwards all my life through poverty and ignorant people, or people in power who just did not care, but one can only go backwards so far. At some point we have to dig within and find the strength to say, "I will not take anymore! I refuse your limitations of who I can be! And, I refuse to be silent — so as not to awaken my lethargic brethren!"

This system has indoctrinated us with so much garbage, it's no wonder there are prisons and death penalties. Yet, how can they expect to keep the truth of their system's flaws, housed in prison cubicles, encased forever? It isn't possible.

With the proliferation of Control Unit-style prisons, and the increased use of state-sanctioned executions, one can gauge not only the more evident flaws of this oligarchical system, but the elitists' (powers-that-be) fear of losing control.

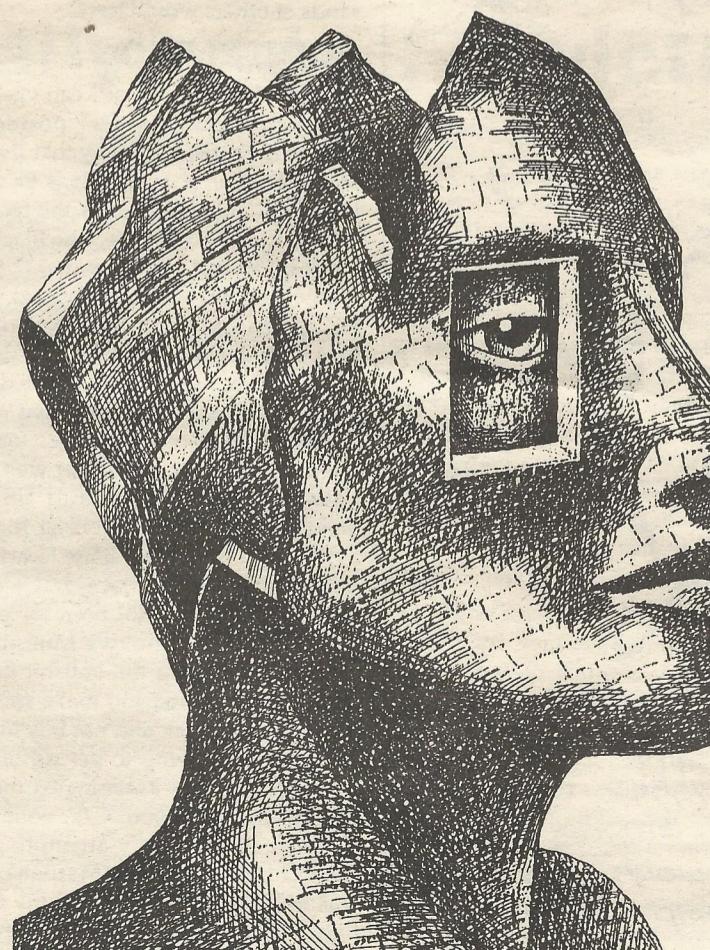
When I began to seriously think about putting the book together (see notice at end of article, *ed.*), my thoughts were of our society's children. They should not have to be another statistic of societal failure, as a good portion of them will be labelled by the system — reduced to a prison number.

We have to be able to instill in them self-worth from the day of their conception. They also need a sense of humanity. All the negativism that surrounds them today is destroying them for tomorrow.

My wife has a grandson, now my grandson, who has been so emotionally and physically abused by his mother that his need for love is so great, my soul cries

held like an infant and demanding to be loved, then they are part of what is wrong in our society.

I met this child for the first time three weeks ago. He ran up to me as I entered the visitation room and hugged me like he has known me all my life. As I sat down beside my wife, he crawled up into my lap and would still be there if he could be. Lucky for him, I am in one of the few death rows that allow contact visits. He is also lucky that my wife recently brought him home with her to



live. There is no telling what damage has already been done to him, but at least now he has a safe, loving home to heal in.

This child is a very good example of why I wrote my part of the book. The only way we are ever going to make the world a more humane place for our children is to start making individual efforts, which leads to the collective effort. People like you at Bulldozer have made me believe that I can make a difference in the world — something positive — even if I am on death row. I am much stronger a person, in all senses, for my association with you, and my friends like you. Together, we will make the world a better place for the children. ~

Derrick Quintero #165463
RMSI 2-D-105
7475 Cockrell Bend Ind. Road
Nashville, TN 37209-1010

Derrick, along with his good friend, R.W. Farid Abd al Rafi, have put some of their writings together in a book called *Voices Through Stone*. The 93 pages of this book are filled with writings that reflect understanding of both self and society that being on Death Row has generated for these two men. The writing is inspirational and insightful, as they detail their inner struggles to claim their humanity in the face of death, boredom and the inhumanity of their situation. Support them if you can at all as this will enable them to continue to reach out through the walls. But read it because you'll understand yourself better for having done so. Cost for the book is \$15.00 in the U.S., or \$17.50 for foreign orders. Please send checks or money orders to:

Sarah Quintero
204 Charlotte Dr.
Clinton, KY 42031

Reparators, resistance and much more

In April, i finished a booklet called *It's About Reparations With Us! — an A.M. 31 Response to some North American Leftists and Others who believe Black People aren't entitled to Reparations*. The booklet was written in response to a letter i received from the *North Coast Express* (NCX). We felt the letter was the height of racist arrogance and chauvinism. Part of what i point out in the booklet is the fact that there are very few who can suggest to A.M. 31 what and how We should approach things and expect that it will be seriously considered by Us. We base that position and relationship on the basis of a history of sincere struggle against oppression. As far as i'm concerned NCX has no history of unconditional support of oppressed peoples' struggles. They certainly don't have one with Us and they obviously don't know how to deal with a bunch of mad Afrikans with short fuses. They also obviously don't know who they're fucking with. i'm not some johnny-come-lately, arm-chair revolutionary. When my Mother and Father were screwing to have me they were screwing to birth a revolutionary. i was born into this!

On another note, to the best of my knowledge, what happened relative to the understanding that Black and White radicals should concentrate only on their respective communities was due more to intense debates in the Black Nationalist communities as to what role North Americans (Whites) should play in the struggle for Black Liberation, than it was that any specific activist(s) sat down and came up with that strategy. i do know that Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) is credited with having made the strategy public on a national level.

It was the position of the PGRNA (Hereinafter "PG") that North Americans could not participate in the struggle for an independent land mass for New Afrikan (Black) people from within the movement on any level. Some of the facts undergirding that position are that, on the one hand, the

history of White Radicals, from the "abolitionists" of early colonial america to the "liberal" Left of today, did not lend itself to any reason for Our trusting them enough to work with them. After all, White Supremacy is such that Black people really are engaging in a great leap of faith when We decide to bet on Whites, notwithstanding those traitors who are Black. There is/was also the fact that sincere North American (White) revolutionaries, i.e. those who understood and accepted the necessity for National Liberation Struggles and supported them (much as the Anarchist Black Cross is attempting to do now), were so few and far between that the issue was essentially a moot issue.

In my opinion, whether that position is correct now is debatable. (The position that Whites should work only with Whites from outside any particular Black formation, that is.) i think that it is not a correct position at this point in the *continuing* struggle for Black liberation. i think it is incorrect for a number of reasons. One is that technology has dramatically changed the terrain. That alteration leads right into my second, and strongest argument, and that is that technology has placed the White Supremacy Power Cyst'm in the position of actually having placed the entire world under the imminent threat of nuclear and biological annihilation. *No one* is safe as long as the current situation persists. This, in my opinion, begs for a re-examination of old positions and the development of new strategies. It doesn't take a goddammed rocket scientist to figure out that White Supremacy being, among other things, White Skinned privilege, it is Whites who are most capable of accessing various defense and communications systems of the cyst'm, among other things. If that is the case, that means that We would better contribute to the destruction of White Supremacy with the active participation and assistance of North Americans. That means that the intellectuals have to get on their jobs and figure out

some way to make mutual cooperation and respect among the radicals of all nationalities work so that We can get about the business of *speedily* defeating the cyst'm.

One other thing on this point. What i have said is not to denigrate the leadership of the PG and other nationalists for the position that excludes North Americans. Nor is it to suggest that i am rethinking the need for an independent new Afrikan land mass. i'm not suggesting any of that. An independent new Afrikan land mass, or a "liberated zone" as an Anarchist put it, is not, in my mind, a "belief" or theoretical position. Indeed, it is something that i know can and will happen because it is a must.

Relative to the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) i think it was the correct position for the time. i also think that my position needs a lot more thinking through because of the historical and present realities and because i am not an intellectual. i am basically a soldier placed in the position of trying to fill a void by attempting to get some aspects of the struggle addressed in a manner that i think will be more effective than heretofore because of the appeal to the masses of reparations.

i say that the position of the PG was correct at the time primarily because out of all the nation-wide revolutionary formations that existed in this century, in this country, *only* the NAIM is still alive and well! This is so in spite of the fact that the PG suffered all the same internal and external problems that everyone else did. The NAIM still exists primarily because of the correctness of Our struggle and the astuteness and strength of its leadership. For one thing, We didn't have to waste time trying to get a bunch of silly, middle-class White kids, going through their "rebellious stage", to recognize that this struggle is a 500-year-old, life and death, *continuing* struggle; not a fad to get into to make your parents mad. At the time it would have been a waste of time, talent and other scarce resources, to try to get white radicals to recognize their personal racism and why *they* should do something about it. By excluding North Americans altogether We were spared that waste. From what i can ascertain from the information i have available to me, the fact that North Americans are finally beginning to "get it", as they say, in any significant numbers is a relatively new phenomenon in the person of Anarchists, specifically the ABC collectives. And, i would feel safe in citing this historical point at around the mid- to late- 1980s and due, principally, to the efforts of Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, Kuwasi Balagoon, Ojore Lutalo and other unsung Black dynamos who put up with this madness longer than i and tens of thousands of others would have.

COINTELPRO

Another factor that i can cite pointing to the correctness of Our position at the time (and that is not to say that the position of the PG has changed. It is to say that i think it should change.) is the fact that the COINTELPRO that pitted the Black Panther Party (BPP) and United Slaves (US) against each other and which attempted to pit the PG against one and/or the other *did not work* with the PG! i/We have the documents to prove that the PG was targeted with the bunk letters, and other shit, that were used to hurry along what appears upon hindsight to be something that was brewing between the Panthers and US (United Slaves) in an attempt to drag the PG into that mess. i remember quite clearly various incidents that could have dragged Us into the melee if it had not been for my father, Imari Obadele, Chokwe Lumumba, and others, recognizing the bullshit for what it was and taking steps to make sure that the PG stayed on track and not buy into it. One of those steps being to get rid of Karenga when his flunkies assassinated the Panther Brothas in Westwood, CA., with Maulana Karenga subsequently attempting to drag the PG into that shit. (Maulana Karenga was Minister of Culture for the PG at the time. When Karenga's goons murdered the

Panther Brothas and the PG looked into it, Karenga was subsequently banished.)

The fact that the Panthers and US bought into COINTELPRO to the extent that they did, and the PG did not, is suggestive of there being something structurally wrong with the Panthers and US. Those two formations were destroyed. The NAIM was destabilized. The difference is basic and fundamental. The NAIM rebuilt from the damage. The others would have to be resurrected from the dead. i hope i am not coming off as sounding like i'm dissing the Panthers because i'm not. i have always loved the BPP. In fact, a great deal of A.M. 31's program is the BPP program. And, i think the BPP should be resurrected as a party.

i received from the Paterson Anarchist Collective - NJ/ABC, Komboa Ervins' *Short Proposal For The Black Panther Movement* and i think he offers some concrete, excellent suggestions. i agree with him though i arrive at some of the same conclusions from a different analysis. i would like to see the BPP as a Party within the PG much like the Malcolm X Party and the A.M. 31 — as a party — will probably become.

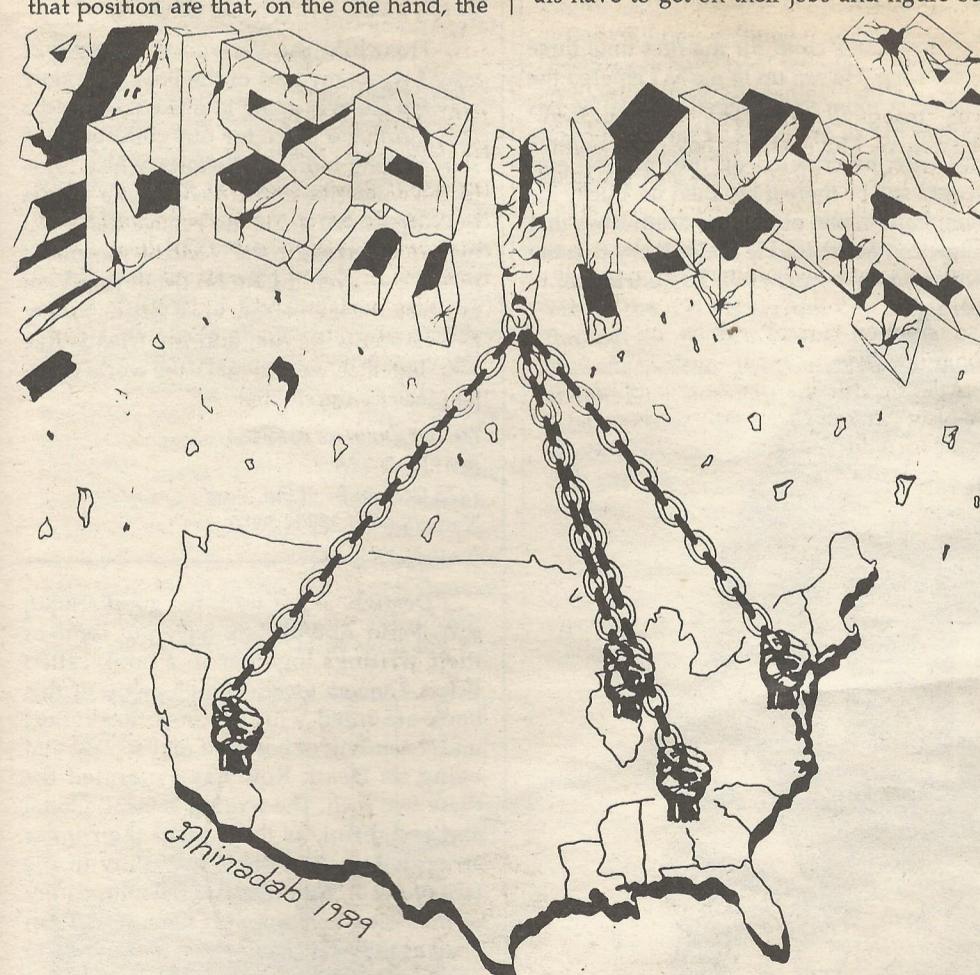
i have thought of writing several of our revolutionary North American Sistas, and Brothas, and propose to them that they set up a chapter of N'COBRA, as A.M. 31 or otherwise, and offer a co-chair position in A.M. 31 to one of the Sistas.

One thing that has prevented me from doing so, however, is the fact that i realize that people have work they've been doing for years and for A.M. 31 to ask them to take on an additional strategy at this time, which could very well cut into time and resources they need for their ongoing work, probably would not be cool. Another thing is the fact that the feds won't allow me to communicate with anyone in the federal gulag. We wrote a letter for Baba Sundiata Acoli's parole hearing and sent him a copy and a letter to him that a number of Us had signed. The feds rejected the letter. There are legal ways to get around that kind of stupid shit, but that is not the only factor, as i have already stated. Nor is it the most important factor.

A more important problem would be convincing them that they should do as We propose, which probably shouldn't be too hard to do since what We are proposing is that they bring their work to the reparations table along with other avenues already being taken. But, also, the North American revolutionaries would have to understand that there would be some resistance from a lot of Blacks to North Americans being officers in a Black Coalition. i am not sure that i have the right to ask anyone to put up with that. i certainly don't have the gall to ask them to do it.

The fact is, however on one significant front, N'COBRA already is the broad-based, mass oriented formation needed to gain the release of PPs/POWs and to help destroy the White Supremacy Power Cyst'm. In other words, it is the mass movement that a lot of Us know is needed and are offering suggestions for and attempting to bring into reality. N'COBRA, like the ABC collectives as a unified body, have the potential to address, in a concrete way, and alleviate legal and material problems of libertarian political prisoners and prisoners of war and the social-political prisoners (S-PPs), until Our release is secured.

As i was telling Neil of PAC-NJ/ABC there *will* be a reparations settlement for Black people. The questions are when and under whose terms? Not whether. The way A.M. 31 has framed the issue is that as part of *any* reparations demand and settlement to New Afrikans/Black, Black/New Afrikan PP/S-PPs *must* be released either unconditionally, or to a neutral country, with the necessary material reparations to make whichever transition successfully. And, that the New Afrikan/Black POWs/PPs be released to the custody of N'COBRA, PGRNA, NAPO and other Black/New Afrikan organizations. These demands are not only possible, but proba-



"Without the blood, work and intelligence of New Afrikan people, Amerikkka would not exist. It will require, among other things, New Afrikan blood, work and intelligence to destroy this imperialistic Amerikkkan empire."

ble, and likely as a reparation.

What some have picked up on, but most have missed, is that the way Our demands are structured *anyone* whom We would choose ("We" being the above mentioned), and who would accept it, would be classified as Black/New Afrikan for the purposes of a reparations settlement relative to the release of prisoners.

These are some things that would have to be understood. They would have to understand that there is an ideological struggle going on between A.M. 31 and some in N'COBRA who understand exactly what We are saying and resent it, and We are losing, at this time, the ideological struggle.

Revolutionary demand

So it is not just a matter of having North American and other oppressed peoples joining/supporting A.M. 31 just for show, or to make a point. It is a matter of the fact that the particular demand for the release of PPs/POWs/S-PPS is a complicated revolutionary demand which needs revolutionary, politically sophisticated persons to represent it and struggle for it to become reality.

i figure that a number of people will have a problem with my departure from traditional lines of struggle. i can accept that. On the one hand, though, i'm tempted to dismiss them out of hand simply because a lot of it will come from people not directly involved in the NAIM, N'COBRA and A.M. 31 in particular. For all intents and purposes, for better or for worse, i — through the democratic consent of A.M. 31 members — run A.M. 31. That being the case, and until such time as others who have ideas come aboard and work within A.M. 31 to build it up, those that would want to get on my case would really be indulging in an exercise in futility. They would probably be better off spending their time on their own business. That is not to say that A.M. 31 is above criticism. But, from what i've seen over the years is that a lot of people don't know the difference between constructive criticism and mean-spirited name calling and saying a bunch of shit that no one understands.

Plus, a lot of it will be precipitated by folks holding on to some pat theoretical line of struggle, like, for instance, Marxism, that has not worked for Us over here in this day and time. Holding on to some theoretical line about what should be done, when it ain't workin' is bullshit. Theories, strategies and tactics should be tailored upon the existing conditions. Dig what i'm saying? What worked when and where people were still tilling land with oxes and hoes ain't gonna work in an era and place where people use back-hoes and super-tractors. i mean, sometimes i wonder if some people really don't realize that information travels by cable, satellite and fibre optics. Not

pigeons. Pigeons can't keep up.

The NAIM understands this but, in my opinion, as it concerns the PG, there is a little too much bureaucracy. But, that is changing. That's one of the reasons i ran for a Representative seat on the Peoples Center Council. i hope to broaden the PG, inject a lot more flexibility, and help push it in the direction of addressing the immediate needs of the people like food, clothing, shelter, health care and defense and the liberation of Us being held prisoner. This is the direction that Brother Imari attempted to take the PG in during his tenure as President, but he was hampered a lot by the bureaucracy i alluded to above and his own desire, i believe, to avoid any further major disruptions in the PG. (i have never discussed that with Brother Imari, so this is purely my interpretation of what i think the problems are.)

Hopefully by the time (about 2&1/2 years) the next National Black Elections come around i will have built up enough political power and A.M. 31 as a party in the PG that i will be able to win the Presidency and bring in the kind of people necessary to do what needs to be done.

The new President, Kwame Afoh, in my opinion is not up for the job. And i think that for the next 2&1/2 years there is not going to be much movement forward in the direction that the PG needs to go. But, he's not the only, or the major force in the way of progress. Back in '89-'90 before i was captured i met a lot of old-line PGers — and some new ones too — who gave me the distinct impression that they think the PG is some sort of social club for ultra-cultural nationalists. A bunch of snobs. Hopefully We will be able to get their noses out of the air or their asses out of the PG so that We can attract the masses to the PG because that is who it belongs to. (What I have just said is not constructive criticism. It is not meant to be. There are too many of Our people dead and locked up for me to be trying to be nice about what has happened and is happening.)

A few more comments before i go. One of the problems with a lot of discussion and analysis is that it is the child of impotent revolt if there is no way to implement the concrete ideas which come from analysis and discussion. One way that is time tried and proven to deal with keeping suggestions from just being a bunch of talk is to get directly involved in whatever it is. i'm speaking specifically here of the NAIM. Up to very recently the PG had not provided an avenue for those of Us imprisoned to have a concrete and substantial voice, in terms of party/organization formation, elected offices with in the government and so on. We basically had to sit on the outside and complain and comment, etc. That is no longer the case.

What I'm saying is if the NAIM is important to a person, that person should join one of the parties, organizations, or government Ministries of the PG, or join the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) and the Malcolm X Grass Roots Organization and bring their ideas, analysis and criticisms to the table for the benefit of the movement. The PG and NAPO are the NAIM.

As briefly as i can i will explain some things that should make any further analysis and criticisms etc., easier and more on target.

1. The NAIM is those of Us who seek an independent land mass on some of this land which makes up the continental u.s., principally for those of Us who are Black. We call this land mass, which We have identified as subjugated territory, New Afrika. The type of independent state which the NAIM envisions is a Republic — a state of existence based, primarily, on ancient Afrikan communalistic, cooperative living. This is what the NAIM means by Republic.

Many tendencies

Within the NAIM there are all political persuasions. There are capitalists, socialists, communists, anarchists, Afrikan traditionalists, nationalists, and those who will not be pent-down to any specific political line.

Two formations make up the NAIM at this time: The PG and NAPO. The driving forces between the PG are people and organizations made up of all the types of people that i have described above, including, but not limited to, A.M. 31.

2. The PG (Provisional Government) is just that, a pre-independence, therefore temporary, governmental body which has a law-making body for the people of the PG. This law-making body is called the Peoples Center Council (PCC). All its members are elected to the PCC by nation-wide elections open to all Black people. The elections are the national Black Elections. They are held every three years.

3. New Afrikan and Black, essentially mean the same thing: people of Afrikan descent who have been the victims of enslavement and colonialism and thus have been molded, or mashed, into a *new* nation as in the case of those of Us in america, and new nations and nation-states as in the cases of Jamaica, Grenada, Haiti, etc., and Zimbabwe, Namibia and others in the Motherland. It is, most simply, a more correct nomenclature — politically, socially, economically, culturally, etc., — for those of Us in that position. New Afrikan is *not* an "ism".

4. The NAIM has very definite and solid political analyses for what We do and why We define things and interpret things the way We do. For instance, in reference to the position of the NAIM on PP/POWs, i will quote Chairman Chokwe Lumumba of NAPO: "Political Prisoners are all those New Afrikans or others in Prison because of political acts in opposition to the U.S. Government.

"This would include persons whose terms have been extended or imprisonment made more difficult because of political opposition to USA while in prison.

"A Prisoner of War is a Political Prisoner who has partaken in or organized for political armed resistance to Imperialism (The USA) and in support of national Liberation. The POW is one incarcerated because of their role in armed resistance."

Social-Political Prisoner

Social-Political Prisoner This is the position of the NAIM, both the PG and NAPO. That position is based on current *realities*. A.M. 31's position for an addendum to that (Our definition of Social-Political Prisoner) is just that — Our definition. We are, however, struggling within the NAIM and the Reparations Movement to have Our definition adopted by those bodies and struggled for in order to have international law application.

On clandestine military formation the NAIM has very definite positions which are also based on current realities and international law. Again, i will quote Lumumba: "NAPO regards the clandestine military of the New Afrikan Nation (emphasis mine) as a vital force for freedom. This army puts the

teeth into the Liberation Movement." That is the position of the NAIM, both the PG and NAPO.

Speaking for the PG, however, the PG sees that it is not necessarily correct to proclaim that the Black Liberation Army (BLA), or *any* clandestine formation is *the* army of the RNA (Republic of New Afrika) as Abdul Shakur did in the May-June 1994 PNS. There are solid practical reasons for this and i am dealing with them elsewhere, with the assistance of Ahmed Obafemi of NAPO, in that series of pamphlets that i am working on. But one thing i can say briefly is that, as it relates to the BLA, all of the members of the BLA were not struggling for an independent land mass called the Republic of New Afrika. And, a lot of them still do not struggle for a Republic of New Afrika. This is true of not only the BLA but other clandestine formations that probably exist and those that no longer exist like the one i was involved with in Detroit. That fact alone makes the statement that the BLA is *the* army of the RNA incorrect. NAPO and the PG are above ground formations. The BLA and other clandestine formations are underground (secret) formations.

5. The NAIM views the Black/New Afrikan struggle for liberation in this country as a *continuing* struggle which has traditionally taken three paths of struggle: Integration, Independence on some of this land, and reparation to be the Motherland. We see it as a 500-year-old, life and death, continuing struggle of three peoples: Americans (Whites) trying to take and keep the land, First Nations (Indians) trying to keep — and/or free — their land, and New Afrikans (Blacks) trying to free some land. It can be likened to different actors playing out the same roles with new sets. Not different and unconnected happenings.

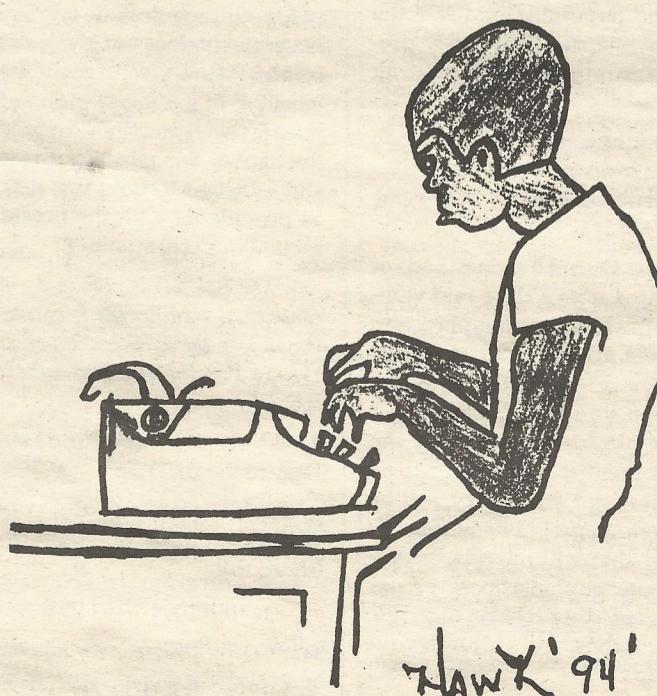
i was telling Neil from PAC NJ/ABC that A.M. 31 is considering actively participating in the national/international ABC. We've been discussing it over the past few weeks. We have unanimously concluded that We should. We also concluded that We are going to need some direction and advice as it relates to the ABC, and that the Bulldozer should be the ones We approach for this since We already have a history with the Bulldozer. ~

**Reparators Up! Pigs down!
Power to the People!**

Prince Imari Obadele
Ellis 1 Unit, #563888
Huntsville, TX 77343

It's About Reparations With Us! An AM 31 Response To Some North American Leftists And Others Who Believe That Black People Aren't Entitled To Reparations costs \$6.50 (includes postage and handling). The proceeds will go to Obadele's defense campaign. Write to:

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The New Afrikan Community Anti-Drug Initiative

A Black Guerrilla Family presentation

Preamble

At present there exists federal and state laws that permit government officials, especially law enforcement, to confiscate property and money that is obtained during a drug raid. With these new laws in effect it was only inevitable that the percentage of drug raids had exceeded way beyond the security of constitutional liberty, and these laws have only sanctioned legal extortion. The government is exploiting the power of law to extort from the Black community and this money is allegedly used to purchase sophisticated weapons and technology to supposedly enhance their performance while in the line of their so-called "duties". At least 90% of the property which is confiscated after a drug raid is usually auctioned off at one of the many law enforcement sponsored auctions which are frequently held across the states (in all-white communities in particular), which is also another money-making scheme that is being perpetuated by government/law enforcement officials.

The government and law enforcement officials have clearly failed at curtailing the flow of drugs within their borders, and their failure has severely crippled the Black communities. There also exists much evidence to show their involvement in the international drug market. Drugs and gangs combined are the number one cause of death among Black youths ages 15 to 24 and the number is dramatically increasing as more and more Black youths are dropping out of school to discover the financial advantage in the sales and manufacturing of drugs such as crack-cocaine, heroin and PCP. The U.S. Department of Justice estimates that a young Black man has one chance in 21 of dying from homicide, while the typical Amerikan has a one in 133 chance of being murdered!

Many studies have been conducted concerning the Black community dilemma as well as the plight of the Black man, woman, child and youth. In May of 1988 Auburn House published a book entitled: *Young, Black and Male in Amerikkka: An Endangered Species*. The book brought light upon an issue which has already been plagued by obscurities. The book magnified the bitter struggle for Black survival, and how drugs and gangs have placed the Black male on the endangered species list. The book was written by a team of prominent scholars, namely Jewelle Taylor Gibbs, Associate Professor of Social Welfare, at the University of California at Berkeley. With these startling facts staring us in the face and the government's failure, it is time for the New Afrikan Independence Movement to play a more active role in aiding our communities in their endeavors to effectively combat and hopefully eradicate the drug epidemic, while simultaneously preventing the government from profiting from our suffering.

The following anti-drug acts are only designed to help the community develop an effective and aggressive means towards challenging the government's present forfeiture sham:

Anti-Drug Act One: All money and/or property confiscated from a drug raid within the vicinity of the Black communities and providing that the alleged drug dealer(s) are Black will be released to the Black Community Trust Fund (B.C.T.F.) which will be responsible for distributing the property to Black families which are in need of such necessities, and the money will be used to create various programs within the Black community that will provide the following, if not more: clothing, food, proper shelter, medical care, drug rehabs, day care, job training, counseling and cultural/educational workshops.

Anti-Drug Act Two: Every Black

alleged drug dealer(s) that is arrested and then convicted of drug-related offenses will be required to pay restitution to the Black Community Trust Fund (B.C.T.F.). The amount will be determined by the community. This money will help the B.C.T.F. to establish a college fund for the drug dealer(s) child/children.

The government has in fact been the benefactor of our suffering. The cops or white Amerikkka are not dying at the rate of our Black youth. This drug epidemic has caused immeasurable devastation in our communities, especially in Black lives. After 8 to 16 hours the average pig returns to a hot meal, decent shelter and a safe community environment. The government has the audacity to use the money and/or property seized to facilitate the human atrocities that are being committed everyday by their fascist/racist pig machine — the very money and property that was made at the cost of Black suffering. The government has no right to that money or property! It belongs to the victims of the drug epidemic!

Black Community Trust Fund

I believe that the south central L.A. Rebellion of 1992 demonstrates the very essence and need for the B.C.T.F. It also proves that we as a people will forever remain dependent on the government and other outside sources for financial assistance until we establish our own economic base. I find it quite ironic after all these years of advocating financial independence and development, we still have to ask (or more like beg) the federal/state and local government for financial assistance. Accepting funds from the government would provide them with an incentive to impose regulations to impede the developmental process of our communities and future generation(s).

I am not implying that we capitulate our rights to federal/state assistance when needed or circumstances dictate. But I do believe by establishing our own source of funds we will empower our communities with the ability and capacity to become the master of their own destiny without waiting for this racist/oppressive government. The B.C.T.F. would, in fact, facilitate our endeavor toward building an economic base that will support our community agenda.

We are often told by the government that they do not have the funds to finance the social programs which were designed specifically to combat the illnesses which have stagnated the growth and development of our Black communities due to the government's reluctance, oftentimes straight out refusal to provide us with the funds we need. We are often forced to dismantle many of the social/cultural programs in our communities. It is time that we take responsibility for our own destiny. It is obvious that the government does not give a damn about our plight. Must we forget it took a violent rebellion to get the attention of this government as well as white Amerikkka? Even in the light of this rebellion, the government is still reluctant to meet our demands as well as provide us with the necessary funds to rebuild our communities.

The B.C.T.F. is still in its infant stage. Its conceptual significance is constantly evolving. It will take the participation of our Black collective to breathe life and substance into the B.C.T.F.

1. Where will the funds come from to finance the B.C.T.F.?

- Each member of the community can make a monthly donation (those who can afford to)
- Community owned businesses
- Fundraising.
- Confiscated drug money from the community

- Outside donations
- Federal/state government grants.

- What are the responsibilities of the B.C.T.F.?

The B.C.T.F. will provide funds for community programs such as:

- Day care
- Drug rehab
- Job training
- Medical care
- Rebuilding/repairing homes
- Free food and clothes program
- Help fund community-based organizations
- Reconstructing community infrastructure (e.g. repairing roads, streets, stop signs, signal and street lights, schools, parks, recreation facilities, masjids and churches)
- Cultural/ourstorical/educational programs

- Purchasing vacant lots, homes, buildings, and businesses in the community (businesses and property can also be purchased outside of the Black community)
- Providing emergency funding in case of community or natural crises

The B.C.T.F. Administrative Council

Chief Minister of Finance
Deputy Minister of Finance
Chief Account — Secretary
Chief Investor — Business Analyst

I must reiterate — this is not a complete proposal. This is only a blueprint toward building a complete concept that will facilitate our endeavors to establish and maintain an economic base. The time has come for us to consolidate our efforts in the interests of building a liberated and stronger Black generation of tomorrow. In spite of our internal ideological conflict and contradictions The Black Guerrilla Family intends to play an active role toward rebuilding the Black communi-

ty. We are working overtime to eradicate those contradictions which have impeded our organizational development. We dedicate our efforts to our fallen comrades: W.L. Nolen, William Christmas, James McClain, George and Jonathan Jackson, and our Founder: Jeffrey Khatari Gaulden (August 1, 1978, San Quentin State Prison, died due to a head injury and blatant neglect by our racist keepers). ∞

Long Live the Black Guerrilla Family Republik of New Afrika

Submitted by:
Minister of Information
Black August Resistance
Abdul O. Shakur
D.8.123 C-48884 SHU



Dozer notes

Subscription renewal: In September, all subscribers who we had not heard from since issue 41 were sent a letter asking that they confirm that they wish to continue receiving PNS. In a month, we will be sending out similar letters to all those we haven't heard from since issue #42. The issue number which we last received a letter from you appears on the upper left hand corner of your address label, if it reads either 41 or 42, then please let us know that you want to stay on our list.

How many postal boxes: In most cases, the best address to use for us is "Box 5052, Stn A". We check this box frequently. The Dundas St Box and the one in New York state are more like drop boxes which we have for mainly technical reasons related to the different means of mailing that we employ. We do get this mail, but less frequently, especially from the Lewiston, N.Y.

box which is there primarily as a requirement of 2nd class mail with the U.S. post office. We get this mail once a month, at best. If you send mail there — and it is cheaper for mail sent from the U.S. — we will get it, but mail from us might go out without our knowledge that you've already written to that box. This has caused some confusion in the past, so please bear with us on this.

Article not printed: We were unable to print several articles this time simply because we didn't have room for them. We apologize to all the writers whose articles were held over. We will go up to a 24-page paper as soon as we can raise the money for a faster computer. Our Mac Classic just takes too long. But we're working on some fund-raising and are hoping that we can get enough to build an office in the basement of our production apartment, along with a better computer to go with it. And that should make our lives a little easier and give you more to read. ∞

Anarchist Black Cross conference

In August, members of various Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) groups came together in New York to try to bring new life to the organization which dates back to the Russian revolution. Bulldozer, although not an official ABC group, participated as did other anti-authoritarian activists who are active in the anti-prison movement (APM). While it couldn't be considered an unqualified success, it was a step forward in trying to give more shape and direction to those of us committed to the anti-prison struggle from the outside.

As with many such events, the biggest gains were probably more on an informal level. Personal contact does make it easier to work together on common efforts even though we may be separated by hundreds and even thousands of miles. And even if, for some, the limitations of the ABC became more apparent, most of the participants did leave both with more knowledge about prison issues and feeling more inspired to work on them. Two specific projects addressed were a revitalization of the Emergency Response Network (ERN), and the creation of a Control Unit Monitoring Project (CUMP).

The ABC had a functioning ERN when it last had a presence in North America in 1989/90. Situations calling for some sort of emergency response by non-prisoners range from hungerstrikes, lockdowns, punitive transfers where regular contact with a prisoner is lost up to and including major incidents like hostage-taking or take-overs. To be brief, the (tentative) proposal is for a number of groups, functioning as coordinators, to be at the top of phone trees in their region. The ERN would be set-up on a local base, which in turn would be connected to a regional branch of the phone-tree and working up from there to one of the coordinating groups, which would be responsible for either initiating a call for the ERN, or passing along information that originated in another region.

Ideally, these coordinators would be connected by E-mail, which both reduces costs and increases the speed with which they can communicate and transmit information to each other. The addresses of these coordinating groups are listed in the address box on page 19. If you want to participate, please contact the group closest to you. Obviously, large chunks of the U.S. are not covered yet, but as response comes in, that can be worked out.

The problem with the ERN is a familiar one, and that is that those of us already active, don't really have the time to take on another project, as important as it may be. The first call for the ERN, to respond to the hungerstrike by John Perotti in Ohio and the related arrest by Little Rock Reed, came before any but the most preliminary work had been completed. So as with so many situations, we are already trying to play catch-up. This is said not to discourage either outsiders or prisoners, but merely to suggest that the ERN will not be a miracle breakthrough. It needs serious involvement, people who will take up the responsibility for making and maintaining contacts in their own cities and regions, but done in conjunction with their already existing work. As the ERN develops we'll outline more fully how it will work. At this point in time, calls for the ERN should come through already existing prisoner-support groups, who, to implement the call, would go through their regional contact. And anyone on the outside who is interested in working around prison related issues are encouraged to get involved. Contact your regional rep, and they can put you in contact with others in your area.

There was also discussion about the Control Unit Monitoring Project. CUMP is a longterm proposal to mount a serious cam-

paign to expose existing Control Units and to work against the opening of any new ones. This initiative is coming out of California, Chicago/Indiana and New Jersey. Though differences exist as to how to define Control Units, there is a real need to gather information about these units, and initially this is where much of the work will be focused. However, the work to gather information, and the need to coordinate this work with prisoners in Control Units, should not stop any local initiative to work against already existing local C.U.s, or proposals to build them. (See the tentative proposal for CUMP this page.)

The ERN and CUMP both depend on establishing working relations between outside activists and prisoners in their local area. From Bulldozer's perspective, one of the main focuses for the anti-prison movement (APM), whether ABC groups or not, should be on establishing links with prisoners in their own region and connecting with other groups in the area who also have an interest in prison/social justice issues. Towards this end, beginning with this issue, PNS will list prisoner support groups who want contact with prisoners in their area (see box page 19).

Bulldozer takes a skeptical approach to any "organization", and this includes the ABC. This is not due to cynicism, and certainly not due to sectarianism, but primarily because we are pragmatists. We are convinced by what people *do*, not by what they *say*. Historically, many ABC groups in North America have not lasted as long as the average term in a Control Unit. This is not the way to go. Prison work is not one that should be taken up lightly. It involves real people in real serious situations. As such it requires a longterm commitment. Unfortunately, the ABC has been one of the easiest organizations of all to join. All it has taken is a post office box, a couple of letters to the appropriate newspapers and to other ABC groups. And six months later mail comes back with a note that the box is closed.

It is true that eventually tighter forms of political organization will probably be necessary, but the absence of that structure does not seem like the biggest problem right now. Bulldozer thinks that developing local coalitions, like the Prison Justice Day committee in Toronto, or the one that put on the August 10th demo in San Francisco, is more likely to allow anarchists to break out of their political ghetto. On a larger level, the ERN and especially CUMP will allow us to try to work together to coordinate cam-

paigns and strategies.

It is not that anyone at the ABC conference was suggesting that the ABCs should be a more tightly controlled organization. The ABCs historically have always been very autonomist. But the conference did bog down when we were trying to come up with ways to avoid some of the classic arguments within the broader anarchist movement. Those attending generally work with non-anarchist POWs and PPs, support Native and New Afrikan struggles for self-determination and don't separate the struggle of social prisoners from the campaigns on behalf of, and support for, individual POWs/PPs. We're too well aware that for many the anarchist movement consists of little else but endless debates as to who is most faithful to the cult of the individual. We're not in the least interested in that debate.

The problem with the anarchist movement, as with the anti-prison movement and the left in general, is not that we haven't sufficiently refined our political lines, but that we generally haven't developed a political praxis. Practical projects such as CUMP should allow us the opportunity to develop local initiatives while trying to coordinate those efforts. We can draw upon the experience of the various projects, listen to the concerns and needs of the affected prisoners, work with prisoners from a variety of political, national, racial and religious perspectives and try to develop a politic that is relevant even to those who don't necessarily agree with some of our most basic ideas, but who will recognize and respect solid work. It is up to make anarchist credible, rather than expecting "anarchism" to make us credible. We have much work to do before we will accomplish that.

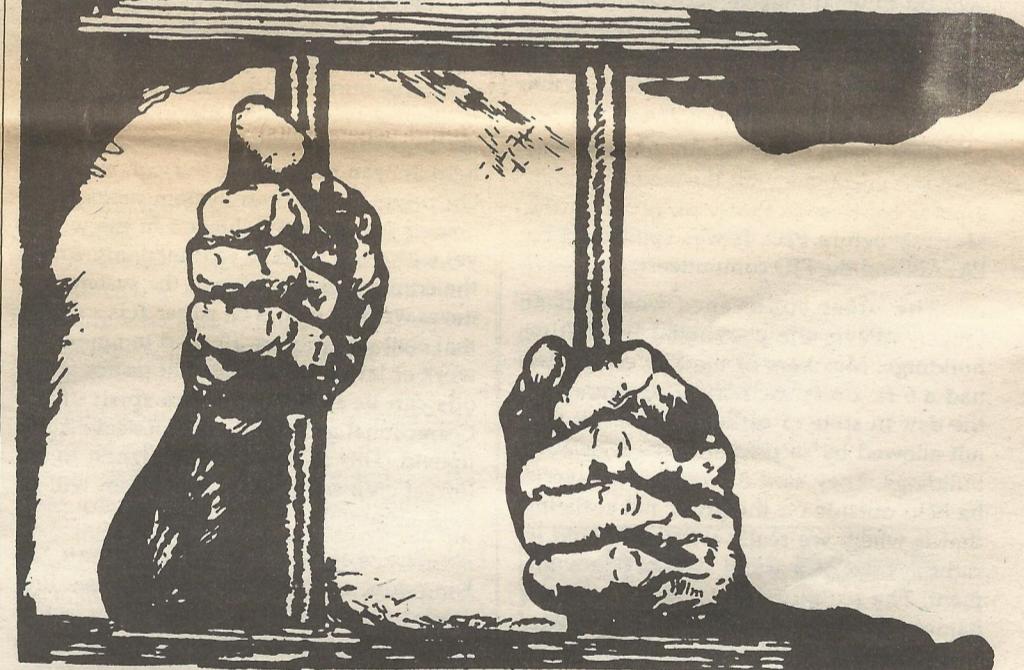
The ABC can make a contribution to the emerging APM. (Leaving aside for the

moment on whether or not this is indeed happening.) But it should see itself as a network within a broader anti-authoritarian tendency, which in turn should see itself as part of a very broad-based and diverse movement. If building an ABC group seems like it would help do local work, then do it, if not, don't. As a network, the ABC may very well be in a position to do work that others aren't. This could include ensuring that activists in prisons that don't have local support have someone somewhere looking out for them. Or coordinating campaigns with the ABCs in Europe and elsewhere. And they should pay particular attention to anarchist prisoners.

I left the ABC conference with some confidence that most of those attending were serious about doing some long term prisoner-support work. And that is the critical question. Time is running out if we are to keep North America from solidifying into very repressive states with a popular base. That very urgency demands that we take our time to do things right. There are not short cuts to political organizing. Many groups, including anarchist ones, take a "Field of Dreams" approach to organizing — "build it and they will come." Well it hasn't worked that way yet. So let's settle down for a few years of hard work and see what develops.

The conference didn't make much progress on the ABC as a structure, but it did help to educate and motivate those attending. Though that is not sufficient, it is certainly a contribution. Our thanks to Nightcrawlers ABC, N.J./ABC, and everyone else who helped to make the conference happen. And special thanks to Ramona Africa and Alan Berkman for their very inspiring talks. *oo*

by Jim Campbell.



Tear down the torture chambers: a strategy to fight Control Units

Strategies to use against the proliferation of control units are beginning to come together. With groups across the country focusing their attention on control units in their area - a network is starting to form. The following is a very rough draft of the Proposal for a national control unit monitoring project.

Statement of Problem: Despite the proliferation of control units across the country during the past decade, no one knows how many there are, their locations, who is in them, and under what conditions. Control units are expanding with relative impunity, except for the cries of protest of those inside, and a few outside organizations and people.

History: During the past year a number of groups and people across the country have been dialoguing about the need for some coordination of effort and the development of a tracking system.

Objectives: To develop a national control unit monitoring network project with participants in each state where a control unit exists. In the ideal this could take place in each state with two or three people on the outside being in close contact with two or three inside the control unit. On a national level this monitoring project would be responsible for data collection: How many control units are there?, who is in them?, how many people are in them?, what is their stated purpose?, etc. Data should include length of stay, time out of the cell (alone or with others), access to programs, reading materials, TV/radio/other equipment. We would also be interested in length of telephone calls, if any are allowed, visiting conditions, medical/health care information, information on cell extractions and general behavior of other staff.

Methods: Our model could include local groups feeding data into regional cen-

ters, which would then feed into a national data base; or it could be developed to infuse data directly into a central collection point which could then issue national reports.

The growth of such a unified focus on control units can be integral to the development of a more activist prison movement in general by bringing together people on both sides of the walls, and by exposing the centrality of control units to the entire prison system. Individual groups would be encouraged to develop organizing components. Although initially the national project will focus on data collection there is room for future negotiation of direction - i.e. national organizing work. *oo*

To all those surviving every day in Lockdown: you are not forgotten

See page 19 for addresses to write regarding this campaign.

Prison Justice Day 1994...

In Toronto

"A Prayer Vigil is being held in solidarity with Prison Justice Day. On this day, our Brothers and Sisters in the Prisons refuse to work for 24 hours by locking themselves in their cells and do not eat. This is done in memory of those who have passed on to the spirit world and to bring awareness about those who continue to suffer the injustices while incarcerated. There will be a special remembrance for the six Aboriginal women who committed suicide at the Prison for Women between 1988 and 1991. We encourage everyone to be part of the Memorial to show support for our Brothers and Sisters in Prisons."

This was the press release for Prisoners' Justice Day (PJD), August 10th, 1994, from the Aboriginal Legal Services (ALS) here in Toronto. A lot of people showed up for the noon to midnight vigil where circles and prayers, drumming and speeches were held. Amber, from PASAN (Prisoners with AIDS Support Action) spoke of the struggles of HIV+ women and of the calls they get at PASAN (1-800-263-9534, Toll-Free in Ontario) from HIV+ prisoners who need help.

At some point, a TV was wheeled into the room and a newscast for PJD featured Jimmy Groat, an outreach worker for the ALS, a former prisoner and a member of the PJD Committee. On the six o'clock CBC news Jimmy spoke of his time inside and gave quite a lengthy interview on the Community Diversion Project, where native elders work with offenders to help them own up to what they've done and to send them to treatment or to receive teachings instead of going to jail. The objective of this project, according to Jimmy, is to look at the root of the problem instead of the surface.

Jimmy and other prison activists had been put in contact with the media through a press conference that took place on the Monday before PJD. It was sponsored by PASAN and the PJD committee.

The press conference was held at Queen's Park, the provincial legislative buildings. Members of the PJD committee had a 6 ft. x 6 ft. memorial "structure" for the day. In spite of earlier promises, it was not allowed by security into the legislative buildings. They said it would just have to be held outside on the grass, not realizing that is where we really wanted to hold it, right in front of that old symbol of government. The sculpture was a coffin with the names of the more than 300 prisoners who had died in Canadian federal prisons of "unnatural" causes in a span of 10 years. On the top of the coffin there was a cage with the usual bars and inside a man acting as Eddie Nalon, whose death sparked the beginning of PJD. "Eddie" shook the bars and screamed for the guards just as the real Eddie had done in 1974 to try to get medical attention once he'd slashed up because of prolonged solitary confinement. He had to scream because the panic button had been de-activated by the guards who didn't want to be bothered answering it.

Also at the press conference, Therasa Ann Glaremin, playwright and member of the Prisoners' Rights Group in Kingston, sang her own song "Mother in Prison" while stepping out of the cage. These two happenings were pretty effective and drew a lot of interest from tourists at Queen's Park as well as the TV cameras, which we hoped would reach prisoners.

Tidy Francis, an executive member of the Black Action Defense Committee, spoke saying, "It is time for Canadian people to raise their voices against Canadian human rights violations... Prisoners are being murdered by guards simply for asking why inmates are not being fed for 21 hours. That is exactly the case of Mr. Robert Wayne Gentles, the 23-year-old Black man from

Hamilton, who died at Kingston Penitentiary October 24th, 1993. Mr. Gentles dared to question the inhumanity of the prison authorities and for that he was maced and beaten to death. And not one damn Canadian political leader uttered a single word about Mr. Gentles' rights as a prisoner or a human being... Until we lift our voices together and demand a public investigation into the way the police and prison system do business in this country, we will continue to be accomplices to the human rights violations and the continued murdering of our children at the hands of our police and prison officials."

Therasa Ann Glaremin, who spent eight-and-a-half years inside the Prison for Women in Kingston "wrongfully convicted for a crime that happened in (her) home — domestic violence," had this to say: "Far too much of the public discussions of crime and imprisonment... are shaped by the media and police. People are fascinated and frightened by crime... We should not be surprised that the news media has found ways to profit from these seemingly perverse aspects of our nature. However, if the reporting of crime were proportionate to the crimes committed and to the effect that it has on people, then most coverage would be devoted to domestic violence, alleged drug use and white collar crime. Then the news coverage of these kinds of crime would not be great; since people are much more affected by the decisions made at all levels of government than they are by street crime. How governments collect and spend money should be receiving much greater coverage than crime."

She also noted that "Drugs should be legalized. Addictions should be considered a medical problem... The sooner we stop deluding ourselves that there is a war on drugs that can be won, the sooner we will get on with innovative approaches that will help instead of harming our communities. On paper, our prison system looks to be among the most enlightened in the world, yet with a total lack of accountability within the criminal justice system, the system will never work as it does on paper. It is a shame that civil servants are allowed to ignore the work of lawmakers... Current justice methods can be improved if the spirit of the Correctional and Conditional Release Act is upheld. This means that the highest to the lowest civil servants in the system will be held accountable."

She wound up remarking that: "In Kingston, 40% of calls to the crisis line made by children go unanswered for lack of funding. Prisons are filled with adults who were abused as children. Want to do something about crime in Canada? Start addressing the needs of children. Let's get it out in the open so we can reduce harm to them."

Therasa Ann is also the author of a play called *The Hanging Sheet*. It was performed in a workshop reading at several community centres in Toronto during the week of PJD, co-sponsored by A-Space and the Company of Sirens. Here is a review of the August 10th performance at The Meeting Place, written by Ivor Edwards and printed in their newsletter: "The Hanging Sheet was written in memory of women prisoners who have committed suicide while in prison. The four professional actresses and the playwright Therasa Ann Glaremin were very informed about what's going on behind bars. They've been there and they made me feel empathy that their rights in prison weren't being heard, and were ignored.

"They told about neglect in prison hospitals and about losing contact with friends and family and children because the prison is at the other end of the country. They described how there is little care in the pen and that guards and wardens seem to almost enjoy screwing with your mind. There is nothing rehabilitative about prison!

They showed how women prisoners formed support groups to keep sane, although there are prisoners who abuse and sexually abuse fellow prisoners.

"Most of the women prisoners were victims of physical, mental and sexual abuse before they entered prison. They often committed crimes in reaction to this abuse. The women mentioned in the discussion that followed that they had never met middle-class or wealthy women in the federal pens. It's government shit that the prison system seems to single out people and sometimes certain cultures... This play draws emotions out of the audience. People don't appreciate how freedom feels and what it really is. I'd call those women "freedom fighters."

Another aspect of PJD is the inclusion of survivors of psychoprisons. A poster, with a picture of a woman being drowned by pills announced an event called "Psychiatric Abuse: Speaking out and Hearing Each Other", held by the Queen Street Patients Council.

Graham Bacque, a member of the Patients Council as well as the PJD Committee, said at the August 8th press conference: "There is a popular misconception that insanity is an easy sentence; but the fact is that people found not criminally responsible or unfit to stand trial due to a mental disorder do not have the rights or procedural safeguards that belong to other members of this society. Even for minor offenses, they can be held indefinitely. It can mean serving 15 years for stealing a bicycle!... They do not know when, if or how they will ever be set free again. As a result, they are vulnerable to being coerced into taking drugs and treatments that harm their bodies and

minds. They are experimented on."

Jennifer Chambers, also of the Patients Council, wrapped it up with the reflection that "There are no places of healing in this society, only places of incarceration. It is important to think about what this means to us, as individuals and as a culture. If we treat some members of our society as disposable and hopeless, what does it mean about the value we place on human life?"

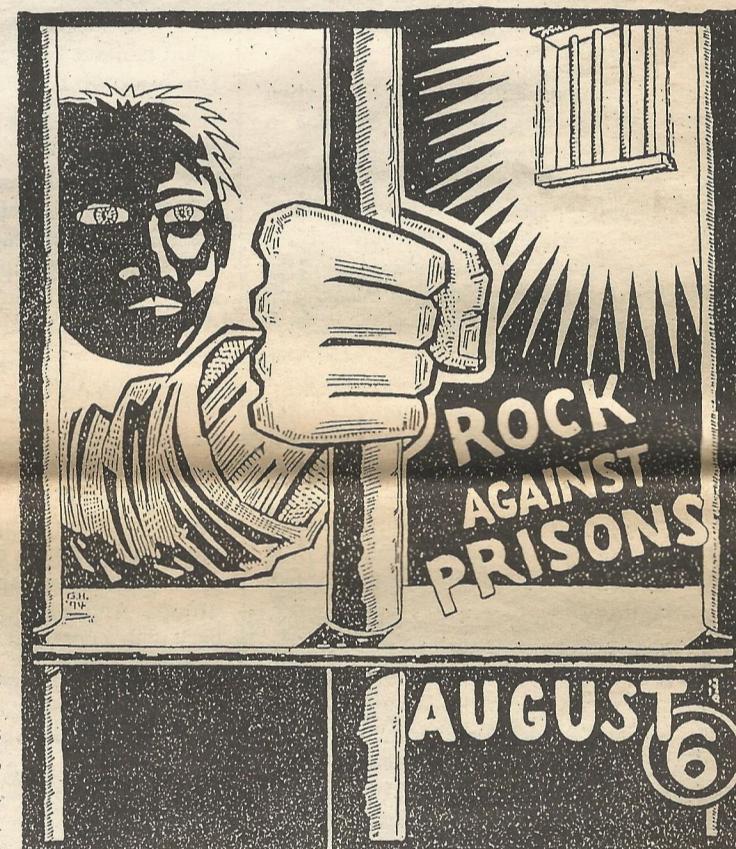
On the prison front, Prisoners at William Head, BCCW, Matsqui and Kent commemorated the day. There were also commemorations at: Edmonton Max and Drumheller in Alberta, at the Regional Psychiatric Centre in Saskatchewan, and in Dorchester, New Brunswick, a prisoner was assaulted by guards and thrown in the hole, plus other prisoners lost their jobs in connection to August 10th activities.

As members of the Toronto Prisoners' Justice Day Committee, we received several requests from inmate committees for information on the history of PJD and direction on what to do for the day, so it seems that there's an interest in the day amongst a new generation of prisoners. ~

In solidarity,

Gay Bell, PJD Committee

(See address at the bottom of other article.)



PJD Elsewhere

Prisoners' Justice Day (PJD) began in Millhaven federal prison in Ontario on August 10, 1975, and soon became a national event. In recent years it has grown to become an international solidarity event among prisoners and their supporters. Many reports have been received from across Canada as well as worldwide on demonstrations, rallies and vigils.

In Vancouver, the annual Rock Against Prisons in Grandview Park on Aug. 6th drew 500-600 supporters and was hosted by a coalition of groups, with speakers such as Claire Culhane, Kelly White and Eddy Rouse. About 100 PJD t-shirts were sold, which were then sent to prisoners. There was also a radio interview with Claire Culhane on the Stark Raven show, and then of course the annual rally hosted by the Prison Rights Group. This year it began at the Vancouver Pre-trial Centre and ended at the Burnaby prison for women.

In Edmonton, Kathleen Yearwood of the Prison Rights Group Alberta held the annual wreath-laying ceremony at Edmonton Max prison. As only two people had been given authorization to approach the fence to lay the flowers, Kathleen and two other protesters were led away by guards. "Pounds per square inch they're ahead and

we're behind", quipped Yearwood as she was led away. "I knew I should have bulked up". On Sunday Aug. 7th, two prisoners had died at the prison.

In Kingston, the Kingston AIDS Project, together with the E Fry and John Howard groups of that city demonstrated at Kingston Pen to protest the killing of Robert Gentles by six guards there, who have recently been charged with manslaughter under a private indictment after a long struggle by his mother and others.

Volunteers of the E Fry and John Howard Societies in Sudbury, Ontario held a prayer vigil and smudge ceremony on the front lawn of the Sudbury District Jail. Attended by about 40 people, including ex-prisoners and even corrections workers, it was organized by students Colette Gignac and Keith Barre.

Various autonomous groups of the Anarchist Black Cross held demonstrations in London and Birmingham, England. About 30 demonstrators organized by ABC London held a rally at HMS Holloway, a notorious prison for women in London. They leafleted passersby while chanting

continued on following page

PJD from page 18

various anti-prison slogans, calling for justice for women imprisoned for defending themselves against their abusive partners. Birmingham ABC held a demo at Winsor Green Prison, bringing particular attention to the death of prisoner Barry Prosser who had been killed by screws there. Local radio aired various interviews with demonstrators, who had been protesting one particular screw who had been involved in Prosser's death.

The first major commemoration of PJD in the U.S. took place at the California State building and San Francisco's Civic Center. The Pelican Bay Info Project worked together with activists from the Prison Activist Resource Center and ACT-UP/Prison Issues to bring together a diversity of Bay area groups who held a "lively, spirited rally and march". In preparation for the August 10th activities, activists had drafted a number of demands, calling for: the stopping of shooting of prisoners (California prison guards shoot more prisoners than all other states combined), quality medical care for prisoners, closing of Security Housing Units, having open public inquiries into all deaths in prisons, freeing of Norma Jean Croy, Geronimo Ji-Jaga Pratt and other political prisoners and the abolition of the death penalty.

PJD organizer Eli Rosenblatt reports that at the San Francisco event, more than

100 people gathered at the Old State Building and marched through the city to the Civic Centre. At the new State Building, more than 20 names were read to commemorate prisoners who had been killed or died of neglect. A moment of silence was observed to remember others whose names were unknown. Participants in the rally heard a series of strong and dynamic speakers from groups such as Prison Legal Services, Concerned Citizens for Prisoners, Pelican Bay Info Project, Out of Control, and Damita, one of the Student 55 from Santa Cruz who gave a powerful talk which put prisoner deaths "in a wider social and economic context."

Other reports received were from Joyceville Institution where the entire prison population refused to work and fasted. A video was shown by the inmate committee about PJD, and a service was held in the gym. There was also a strong show of solidarity among prisoners at Kingston Pen.

From all the reports received by the PJD Committee of Toronto, it is truly an inspiration that so many participated in so many events this year, and next year's events prove to be even more well attended and numerous. ~

For more information or to receive the Prisoners' Justice Day Bulletin, contact:

PJD Committee
Box 238 Station B
Toronto, ON M5T 2W1

Addresses...**Emergency Response Network**

For New York, N.J. and Pennsylvania

Nightcrawlers ABC
Box 1034
Bronx NY 10454
Voicemail (212) 802-4544

For the American South

Black Fist
15110 Bellaire Box 317
Houston, TX 77083
Voicemail 713-315-1211

For the mid-Atlantic region

ABC-DC
Box 77432
Washington, DC 20013
Voicemail c/o Beehive (202) 667-2524

For Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois

Minneapolis ABC
Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

For California

Prison Activist Resource Center — Network Against Control Units
PO Box 3201
Berkeley CA 94703

For Canada

Prison News Service
P.O. Box 5052, Stn A
Toronto, Ont M5W 1W4

ABC groups and others wanting contact with local prisoners:

ABC-DC is involved in a campaign against prison expansion in Virginia. They would like contact with prisoners in Virginia, Maryland and D.C. prisoners. (See address above.)

Minneapolis ABC — Minnesota and Wisconsin. See address above.

Black Fist — Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana. See address above.

Control Unit prisoners in New York and Connecticut should contact:

Colin Stages
77 Park Ave #12E
New York, N.Y. 10016

To get involved in the struggle against control units contact one of the following organizations:

Colorado Coalition to Abolish Control Unit Torture
PO Box 1156
Boulder CO 80306

AFSC - Bonnie Kerness
972 Broad St., 6th fl.
Newark NJ 07102

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
PO Box 578172
Chicago IL 60657-8172

PARC — Network Against Control Units
See address above.

Pelican Bay Information Project
2489 Mission St. #28
San Francisco CA 94110

Prison News Service
See address above

Marty Hiken
NLG Prison Law Project
558 Capp St.
San Francisco CA 94110

Mara Taub
Coalition for Prisoners' Rights
PO Box 1911
Santa Fe NM 87504

Police-Nazi from page 77

Intelligence Agency which spied on Leftist and anti-racist groups for the KKK in the late '70s and early '80s), became public knowledge and provoked a tremendous outcry. Thirteen years later, CSIS is engaging in the same type of organized crime which is terrorizing and killing the same people, but with far more impunity and with far less accountability. CSIS, from its very inception, has been given sweeping powers of investigation and surveillance which far surpass those that the RCMP SS ever had.

Historically, in North Amerikkka, when any law enforcement agency (FBI's COINTELPRO program in the U.S. or the RCMP SS in Canada) has ever infiltrated any of the broad sectors of the Left it perceived to be a threat to its existence, it does so with the mandate of disrupting and criminalizing the organizations targeted with the ultimate goal of neutralizing them. It is indicative of how the corporate liberal power structures in reality view the fascist Right that absolutely *none* of the criminal charges that have ever been laid against any Heritage Front members or any actual disruption of the HF's organizing can in any way be attributed to Bristow. He has never been called as a crown witness in any criminal prosecutions of neo-Nazis in Canada, and there are absolutely zero new criminal charges being laid against any fascists as a result of Bristow's so-called "investigation", a situation highly unlikely to change.

The real reason that the HF was crippled was that they could no longer organize above ground. They could no longer make any pretence of advocating a David Duke-style "peaceful road to fascism" approach as they originally had attempted because of the militant and grassroots opposition posed by Anti-Racist Action and similar groups who refused to allow them any space to organize and propagate anywhere. They were/are ready and willing to fight them as they need to be fought, by any means which are necessary and available at one's disposal, and definitely *not* as a result of the non-disruption campaign orchestrated

ed by CSIS. If anyone's lives were disrupted in any way, they were the lives of people of colour, Native people, queers, Jews, immigrants/refugees, disabled people, anti-racists, and anyone else who has traditionally been victimized by fascist terror, proving for the billionth time that our lives are viewed as expendable. The CSIS, the RCMP, and any of the state's other terrorist law enforcement agencies, while forever being willing to sacrifice our lives to neo-Nazis (if they're not murdering us themselves), are just as content to criminalize and prosecute us for fighting back, in even the most minimal and indirect ways we are capable of, against those who wish to send us all marching into the ovens again.

We offer these as examples that (as it often seems to have been said almost every way it can possibly be said, still with people refusing to listen) that the extreme Right, in whatever incarnation it takes, is a functional tool. As the above examples should make clear to all that it functions in the same way as (and in these cases, within) the police as well as the military, as the case of the Airborne Regiment troops responsible for the racist murders of Somali civilians in Mogadishu, who turned out to be affiliated with the Aryan Nations, Church of the Creator, and Aryan Resistance Movement horrifically gives the most blatant indication.

Despite whatever attempt is being made by the Liberal government, law enforcement agencies, or the corporate media to downplay the reality of its own terrorist activity, wash the blood off its hands and play it all off as a stupid domestic spy scandal ala Watergate (which is simply a huge embarrassment to the state), one can never get distracted from the reality that the Canadian government, a white supremacist organization in itself, has shown not only a complete willingness to criminalize people who struggle against racism and fascism, but also to collaborate with and help create racist and fascist organizations, a practice which has forced many of us to pay for with our blood, and in many atrocious cases, with our lives. ~

By Alvaro Almara

Free distribution in Toronto:

We will be distributing 800 to 1000 copies of PNS at various locations around Toronto. We appreciate the support of all local people who subscribe and it does ensure you will get a copy. So pick up a freebie if you see one before your paid-for copy makes it through the mail, you can always pass the 2nd copy onto someone else. If you rely on the free copies, give some thought to sending us a couple of dollars every once in a while. We like giving the paper away for free, but we do have to pay for it all.

Appreciates news from Canada

I would like to convey my appreciation to all those imprisoned Canadians who have taken the time to enlighten and educate us through articles published in PNS. For many of us Canadians imprisoned in the U.S. (land of the unfree and homeless brave) even the smallest developments within the C.S.C. are a great help to many of us.

Specifically, I would like to thank the Canadian prisoners who wrote "C.S.C.'s Manhattan project" in the May/June 1994 issue. This piece was very well written, informative and on target. I particularly liked this guy's opening paragraph which puts it *all* in perspective. It is our hope that many more Canadian prisoners will

contribute informative and enlightening articles regarding new developments within C.S.C. Over the years, Bulldozer has been an invaluable source of information to us, and for some ... the only source!

Upon closing, I would be interested in any material pertaining to C.S.C., and/or upcoming legislative issues on the prison system. Also, I would be more than happy to assist anyone who has friends, relatives or loved ones in U.S. prisons trying to transfer back. You can write to me at: ~

Dave Van Vlymen # 26484-004
Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959

